

SOME  
LETTERS,  
CONTAINING  
An Account of what seemed most  
Remarkable in *Travelling* through  
SWITZERLAND,  
ITALY,  
Some Parts of  
GERMANY, &c.  
In the Years 1685. and 1686.

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*Written by G. Burnet, D.D. to the Honorab.<sup>e</sup> R. B.*

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*This Edition was Corrected and Altered  
in some places by the Author.*

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To which is added an *Appendix*, containing some  
*Remarks* on *Switzerland* and *Italy*, writ by a *Person*  
of *Quality*, and communicated to the *Author*.

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Together with some other *Additions*, which were  
not in the former *Editions*.

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# LETTERS

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## ITALY.

Some Parts of

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London and Printed according to the

A. O. W. D. O. M.

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# SOME LETTERS,

Containing,

An Account of what seemed most  
remarkable in *Switzerland, Italy, &c.*

*Zurich*, the first of *September*, 1685.

S I R,

IT is so common to write *Travels*, that for one, who has seen so little, and as it were in hast, it may look like a presumptuous affectation to be reckoned among *Voyagers*, if he attempts to say any thing upon so short a ramble, and concerning *Places* so much visited, and by consequence so well known: yet having had opportunities that do not offer themselves to all that *Travel*, and having joyned to those a curiosity almost equal to the advantages I enjoyed, I fancy it will not be an ungrateful entertainment if I give you some account of those things that pleased me most in the places through which I have passed: But I will avoid saying such things as occur in ordinary *Books*, for which I refer you to the *Prints*; for as you know, that I have no great inclination to copy what others have said; so a *Traveller* has not leisure, nor humor enough, for so dull an employment.

B

As



As I came all the way from *Paris* to *Lions*, I was amazed to see so much misery as appeared, not only in *Villages*, but even in big *Towns*, where all the marks of an extream poverty showed themselves both in the *Buildings*, the *Cloaths*, and almost in the looks of the *Inhabitants*. And a general dispeopling in all the *Towns*, was a very visible effect of the hardships under which they lay.

I need tell you nothing of the irregular and yet magnificent situation of *Lions*, of the noble *Rivers* that meet there, of the *Rock* cut from so vast a height for a prison, of the *Carthusians* Gardens, of the *Town-house*, of the *Jesuites* Colledge, and *Library*, of the famous *Nunnery* of *S. Peter*, of the *Churches*, particularly *S. Irenees*, of the remnants of the *Aqueducts*, of the *Columns* and the old *Mosaick* in the *Abbey Dene*. In short *Mr. Spon* has given such an account of the *Curiosities* there, that it were a very presumptuous attempt to offer to come after him.

The speech of *Claudius* engraven on a *Plate* of *Brass*, and set in the end of the low walk in the *Town-house*, is one of the noblest *Antiquities* in the *World*, by which we see the way of writing and pointing in that age very copiously. The shield of *Silver* of 22 pound weight, in which some remains of gilding do yet appear, and that seems to represent that generous action of *Scipio*, of restoring a fair captive to a *Celtiberian Prince*, is certainly the noblest piece of *Plate* that is now extant, the embossing of it is so fine, and so entire,

that

that it is indeed invaluable: and if there were an inscription upon it to put us beyond conjecture, it were yet much more inestimable.

A great many *Inscriptions* are to be seen of the late and Barbarous ages, as *Bonum Memorium*, and *Epitaphium hunc*: there are 23. *Inscriptions* in the Garden of the *Fathers of Mercy*, but so placed, as it shews how little those who possess them do either understand or value them. I shall only give you *one*, because I made a little reflection on it, tho it is not perhaps too well grounded, because none of the *Criticks* have thought on it.

The *Inscription* is this, D. M. Et Memoriae Aeternae Suae Anthidis. Quae dixit Annis XXV. M. XI. DV. Quaedum Nimia pia fuit, facta est Impia: & Attio Probatolo, Cecalius Calistio Conjux & Pater, & sibi vivo ponendum curavit & sub aescra dedicavit. This must be towards the barbarous Age, as appears by the false Latin in *Nimia*: But the *Inscription* seems so extravagant, that a man dedicating a Burial-stone for his *Wife* and *Son*, and under which himself was to be laid, with ceremonies of *Religion*, should tax his *Wife* of impiety, and give so extraordinary an Account of her becoming so through an excess of piety, that it deserves some consideration.

It seems the *impiety* was publick, otherwise a *Husband* would not have recorded it in such a manner; and it is plain, that he thought it rose from an excess of piety.

I need not examine the conjectures of others; but will chuse rather to give you my own, and submit it to your censure.

It seems to me that this *Sutia Anthis* was a *Christian*; for the Christians, because they would not worship the Gods of the Heathens, nor participate with them in their sacred rites, were accused both of *Atheism* and *Impiety*. This is so often objected, and the *Fathers* in their *Apolo-gies* have answered it so often, that it were lost labour to prove it: so this Wife of *Cecalius Calistio* having turned *Christian*, it seems he thought he was bound to take some notice of it in the inscription: But by it he gives a honourable character of the *Christian Doctrine* at the same time that he seems to accuse it; that through an excess of piety, his *Wife* was carried to it: since a mind, seriously possessed with a true sense of piety, could not avoid the falling under a distaste of *Paganism*, and the becoming *Christian*.

At *Grenoble* there is not much to be seen, the learned *Mr. Chorier* has some *Manuscripts* of considerable antiquity. In one of *Vegetius de re Militari*, there is a clear correction of a passage that in all the printed Editions is not sense. In the Chapter of the size of the Souldiers he begins, *Scio semper mensuram a Mario Consule exactam*; A, is in no M.S. and *Mario Consule* is a mistake for *trium Cubitorum*; for III. which are for *trium*, have been read M. and C. which stands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a mistake read

*Consule;*

*Consule*; so the true reading of that passage is *Scio mensuram trium Cubitorum fuisse semper exactam*. He shewed me another M. S. of about 5 or 6 hundred years old, in which *S. John's Revelation* is contained, all exemplified in *Figures*, and after that comes *Esops Fables* likewise, all designed in *Figures*, from which he inferred, that those who designed those two Books, valued both equally, and so put them together.

I will not describe the *Valley of Dauphine*, all to *Chambery*, nor entertain you with a *Landskip* of the Country, which deserves a better *Pencil* than mine, and in which the heighth and rudeness of the *Mountains*, that almost shut upon it, together with the beauty, the evenness and fruitfulness of the *Valley*, that is all along well watered with the River of *Lisferre*, make such an agreeable mixture, that this vast diversity of objects, that do at once fill the Eye, gives it a very entertaining prospect.

*Chambery* has nothing in it that deserves a long description, and *Geneva* is too well known to be much insisted on. It is a little *State*, but it has so many good *Constitutions* in it, that the greatest may justly learn at it. The *Chamber of the Corn* has always *two years* provision for the *City* in store, and forces none but the *Bakers* to buy of it at a taxed price; and so it is both necessary for any extremities, under which the *State* may fall, and is likewise of great advantage; for it gives a good yearly income, that has helpt the *State* to

pay near a *Million* of debt contracted during the *Wars*, and the *Citizens* are not oppressed by it, for every *Inhabitant* may buy his own *Corn* as he pleases, only publick Houses must buy from the *Chamber*. And if one will compare the *Faith* of *Rome* and *Geneva* together by this particular, he will be forced to prefer the latter; for if good *Works* are a strong presumption, if not a sure indication of a good *Faith*, then *Justice*, being a good work of the first form, *Geneva* will certainly carry it.

At *Rome* the *Pope* buys in all the *Corn* of the *Patrimony*; for none of the *Landlords* can sell it either to *Merchants* or *Bakers*. He buys it at five *Crowns* their measure, and even that is slowly, and ill payed, so that there was 800000 *Crowns* owing upon that score, when I was at *Rome*. In selling this out, the measure is lessened a fifth part, and the price of the whole is doubled, so that what was bought at five *Crowns* is sold out at twelve: and if the *Bakers*, who are obliged to take a determined quantity of *Corn* from the *Chamber*, cannot retail out all that is imposed upon them, but are forced to return some part of it back, the *Chamber* discounts to them only the first price of five *Crowns*: whereas in *Geneva* the measure by which they buy and sell is the same, and the gain is so inconsiderable, that it is very little beyond the common market price; so that upon the whole matter the *Chamber* of the *Corn*, is but the *Merchant* to the *State*. But if the publick makes a moderate gain by the *Corn*, that, and all the

the other revenues of this small *Commonwealth* are so well employed, that there is no cause of complaint given in the administration of the publick purse: which with the advantages that arise out of the *Chamber of the Corn*, is about 100000 *Crowns* revenue. But there is much to go out of this: 300. *Souldiers* are payed, and *Arsenal* is maintained; that in proportion to the *State* is the greatest in the *World*, for it contains *Arms* for more *Men* that are in the *State*: there is a great number of *Ministers* and *Professors*, in all 24. payed out of it, besides all the publick charges and *Offices* of the *Government*. Every one of the lesser *Council* of 25. having a 100. *Crowns*, and every *Syndic* having 200. *Crowns* pension: and after all this come the accidental Charges of the *Deputies*, that they are obliged to send often to *Raris*, to *Savoy* and to *Switzerland*, so that it is very apparent no man can enrich himself at the cost of the Publick. And the appointments of the little *Council* are a very small recompence for the great attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly 4. or 5. hours a day. The Salary for the *Professors* and *Ministers* is indeed small, not above 200 *Crowns*; but to ballance this (which was a more competent provision when it was first set off 150 years ago, the price of all things, and the way of living being now much heightened) those employments are here held in their due reputation, and the richest *Citizens* in the *Town*, breed up their *Children* so as



to qualifie them for those places. And a *Minister* that is fureable to his character, is thought so good a match, that generally they have such *Estates* either by succession, or marriage, as support them fureably to the rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is so great a regulation upon expences of all sorts, that a small sum goes a great way. It is a surprizing thing to see so much *learning* as one finds in *Geneva*, not only among those whose profession obliges them to study, but among the *Magistrates* and *Citizens*, and if there are not many Men of the first form of *learning* among them, yet every body almost here as a good tincture of a learned education, in so much, that they are *masters* of the *Latin*, they know the *Controversies* of *Religion*, and *History*, and they are generally Men of good sense.

There is an universal *Civility*, not only toward *Strangers*, but towards one another, that reigns all the *Town* over, and leans to an excess: so that in them one sees a mixture of a *French* openness, and an *Italian* exactness: there is indeed a little too much of the last.

The publick *Justice* of the *City* is quick and good, and is more commended than the private *Justice* of those that deal in trade: a want of sincerity is much lamented by those that know the *Town* well. There is no publick leudness tolerated, and the disorders of that sort are managed with great address. And notwithstanding their neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, drinking is very little

little known among them. One of the best parts of their *Law* is the way of selling *Estates*, which is likewise practised in *Switzerland*, and is called *Subhastation*, from the *Roman* custom of selling *Subhasta*. A man that is to buy an *Estate*, agrees with the owner, and then intimates it to the *Government*; who order three several proclamations to be made six Weeks one after another of the intended sale, that is to be on such a day: when the day comes, the Creditors of the seller, if they apprehend that the *Estate* is sold at an under value, may out-bid the Buyer; but if they do not interpose, the Buyer delivers the money to the *State*, which upon that, gives him his title to the *Estate*, which can never be so much as brought under a debate in *Law*; and the price is payed into the *State*, and is by them given either to the Creditors of the Seller, if he owes money, or to the seller himself.

This Custom prevails likewise in *Swisse*, where also *twelve years* possession gives a prescription; so that in no place of the World are the *titles to Estates* so secure as here. The constitution of the *Government* is the same both in *Geneva*, and in most of the *Cantons*. The Sovereignty lies in the *Council* of 200 and this *Council* chuses out of its number 25 who are the *lesser Council*; and the censure of the 25 belongs to the *great Council*, they are chosen by a sort of *Ballos*, so that it is not known for whom they give their votes, which is an effectual method to suppress factions.

factions and resentments; since in a competition, no man can know who voted for him or against him: yet the *Election* is not so carried, but that the whole *Town* is in an intrigue concerning it: for since that being of the *little Council* leads one to the *Sindicat*, which is the Chief honour of the *State*; this dignity is courted here, with as active and solicitous an ambition, as appears elsewhere for greater matters. The 200 are chosen and censured by the 25, so that these *two Councils*, which are both for life, are checks one upon another. The *Magistracy* is in the one, and the *Sovereignty* in the other. The number of 25 is never exceeded in the *lesser Council*; but for the *greater*, tho it passes by the name of the *Council* of 200, yet there are commonly 8 or 10 more, so that notwithstanding the absence or sickness of some of the number, they may still be able to call together near the full number. There is another *Council* besides these *two*, composed of 60 consisting of those of the 200 that have born *Offices*, such as *Auditors*, *Attorneys-Generals*, or those that have been in other employments, which are given for a determinate number of years: this *Court* has no *Authority*, but is called together by the 25, when any extraordinary occasion makes it advisable for them to call for a more general concurrence, in the Resolutions that they are about to form. And this *Council* is of the nature of a *Council of State*, that only gives advice, but has no power in it self to enforce its advice. The whole

whole body of the *Burgesses* chuse the *Sindics* the first *Sunday* of the *year*, and there are some other *Elections* that do likewise belong to them. The difference between the *Burgesses* and *Citizens* is, that the former degree may be bought, or given to *Strangers*, and they are capable to be of the 200, but none is a *Citizen* but he that is the *Son* of a *Burgess*, and that is born within the *Town*.

I need say no more of the *Constitution* of this little *Republick*, its chief support, is in the firm Alliance that has stood now so long between it, and the *Cantons* of *Bern* and *Zurich*, and it is so visibly the interest of all *Switzerland*, to preserve it, as the *Key*, by which it may be all laid open, that if the *Cantons* had not forgotten their Interest so palpably, in suffering the *French* to become Masters of the *Franche Comte*, one would think that they would not be capable of suffering *Geneva* to be toucht: For all that can be done in fortifying the *Town*, can signifie no more, but to put it in case to resist a surprise, or scalade: since if a *Royal Army* comes against it, to besiege it in form, it is certain, that unless the *Switzers* come down with a force able to raise the siege, those within will be able to make a very short resistance.

From *Geneva* I went through the Countrey of *Vaud*, or the *Valley*, and *Lausanne* its Chief *Town*, in my way to *Bern*. The *Town* of *Lausanne* is situated on three *Hills*, so that the whole *Town* is ascent and descent, and that very steep, chiefly on the side on which the *Church* stands, which is a very noble

noble Fabrique. The South-wall of the *Cross* was so split by an *Earthquake* about 30 years ago, that there was a rent made from top to bottom above a foot wide: Which was so closed up *ten years* after by another *Earthquake*, that now one only sees where the breach was. This extravagant situation of the *Town* was occasioned by a Legend of some *miracles* wrought near the *Church*: which prevailed so much on the credulity of that age, that by it the *Church*, and so in consequence the Buildings near it were added to the old *Town*, which stood on the other *Hill*, where there was a *Town* made on the High-way from the *Lake* into *Switzerland*, to which the chief Priviledges of the *Town*, particularly the judicature of life and death, do still belong. Between *Geneva* and this, lies the *Lake*, which at the one end is called the *Lake of Geneva*, and at the other the *Lake of Lausanne*. I need not mention the dimensions of it which are so well known, only in some places the *depth* has never been found, for it is more than 500. *Fathom*; the Banks of the *Lake* are the beautifullest plots of ground that can be imagined; for they look as if they had been laid by art, the sloping is so easie and so equal, and the grounds are so well cultivated and peopled, that a more delighting prospect cannot be seen any where: the *Lake* is well stockt with excellent *Fish*, but their numbers do sensibly decrease, and one sort is quite lost; it is not only to be ascribed to the ravenousness of the *Pikes* that abound in it, but

to another sort of *Fish* that they call *Mountails*, which were never taken in the *Lake* till within these *six years* last past; they are in the *Lake* of *Neuf-Chastel*, and some of the other *Lakes* of *Switzerland*, and it is likely that by some conveyance under ground they may have come into Channels that fall into this *Lake*; the Water of the *Lake* is all clear and fresh. It is not only a great pond made by the *Rhofue*, that runs into it, but does not pass through it unmixt, as some *Travellers* have fondly imagined, because sometimes a soft gale makes a curling of the Waters in some places, which runs smooth in the places over which that soft breath of Wind does not pass, the gale varying its place often. But it is believed, that there are also many great *Fountains* all over the *Lake*, these Springs do very probably flow from some vast cavities that are in the neighbouring *Mountains*, which are as great *Cisterns*, that discharge themselves in the *Valleys*, which are covered over with *Lakes*. And on the two sides of the *Alpes*, both North and South, there is so great a number of those little *Seas*, that it may be easily guessed they must have vast sources that feed so constantly those huge ponds. And when one considers the height of those *Hills*, the chain of so many of them together, and their extent both in length and breadth; if at first he thinks of the old Fables of laying one Hill upon the top of another, he will be afterwards apt to imagin, according to the ingenious conjecture of one that



that travelled over them oftner than once, that these cannot be the primary productions of the *Author of Nature*; but are the vast ruins of the first *World*, which at the *Deluge* broke here into so many inequalities.

One *Hill* not far from *Geneva*, called *Maudit* or *Cursed*, of which one third is always covered with *Snow*, is two miles of perpendicular height, according to the observation of that incomparable Mathematician and Philosopher, *Nicolas Fatia Duilier*, who at 22. years of age is already one of the greatest Men of his age, and seems to be born to carry learning some sizes beyond what it has yet attained.

But now I will entertain you a little with the *State of Bern*; for that *Canton* alone is above a third part of all *Switzerland*. I will say nothing of its beginning nor *History*, nor will I enlarge upon the *Constitution*, which are all well known. It has a *Council* of 200 that goes by that name, though it consists almost of a 300, and another of 25, as *Geneva*. The Chief *Magistrates* are two *Advoyers*, who are not annual, as the *Sindics of Geneva*, but are for life; and have an authority not unlike that of the *Roman Consuls*: each being his year by turns the *Advoyer* in office. After them, there are the four *Bannerets*, who answer to the *Tribunes of the People in Rome*: then come the two *Bursars* or *Treasurers*, one for the ancient *German Territory*, the other for the *French Territory*, or the *Country of Vaud*, and the two last chosen of the 25 are

25 are called *the Secrets* ; for to them all secrets relating to the *State* are discovered : and they have an authority of calling the 200 together when they think fit, and of accusing those of the *Magistracy*, the *Advoyers* themselves not excepted, as they see cause : though this falls out seldom.

There are 72. *Bailiages*, into which the whole *Canton of Bern* is divided ; and in every one of those there is a *Bailif* named by the *Council* of 200, who must be a *Citizen of Bern*, and one of the 200, to which *Council* no man can be chosen till he is married : these *Bailiages* are employments both of Honour and Profit ; for the *Bailif* is the *Governour* and *Judge* in that *Jurisdiction* : since though he has some *Assessors*, who are chosen out of the *Bailiage*, yet he may by his Authority carry matters which way he will, against all their opinions, and the *Bailiffs* have all the *Confiscations* and *Fines*, so that *drinking* being so common in the *Countrey*, and that producing many quarrels, the *Bailif* makes his advantage of all those disorders : and in the 6 *years* of his *Government*, according to the quality of his *Bailiage* : he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps 20000. *Crowns* with him back to *Bern* : on which he lives till he can carry another *Bailiage* : for one is capable of being twice *Bailif* ; but though some have been *thrice Bailifs*, this is very extraordinary. The *Exactions* of the *Bailif* are the only *Impositions* or charges to which the *Inhabitants* are subjected, and these falling only on the irregularities.

ties and disorders of the more debauched, makes that this grievance, though in some particular cases it presses hard, yet is not so universally felt: for a sober and regular Man is in no danger. Many in this *Canton* are as in *England* Lords of *Castels*, or *Mannors*, and have a *Jurisdiction* annexed to their *Estates*, and name their *Magistrate*, who is called the *Castellan*. In matters of small consequence there lies no *appeal* from him to the *Bailif*, but beyond the value of two *Pistols* an appeal lies, and no sentence of *death* is executed, till it is confirmed at *Bern*. There lies also an *Appeal* from the *Bailif* to the *Council at Bern*. There are many complaints of the injustice of the *Bailifs*: but their *Law* is short and clear, so that a suit is soon ended, two or three hearings is the most, that even an intricate suit amounts to, either in the first instance before the *Bailif*, or in the second Judgment at *Bern*. The *Citizens of Bern* consider these *Bailiages* as their Inheritance, and they are courted in this *State* perhaps with as much Intrigue, as was ever used among the *Romans* in the distribution of their *Provinces*: and so little signify the best Regulations when there are Intrinsic diseases in a *state*, that though there is all possible precaution used in the nomination of these *Bailifs*, yet that has not preserved this *state* from falling under so great a mischief by those little *Provinces*; that as it has already in a great measure corrupted their morals, so it may likely turn in conclusion to the ruin of this *Re-*  
*public.*

*public.* All the *Electors* give their voices by *ballot*, so that they are free from all after game in the nomination of the person: all the kindred of the pretenders, even to the remotest degrees, are excluded from voting, as are also all their creditors, so that none can vote but those who seem to have no interest in the Issue of the competition; and yet there is so much intrigue and so great a corruption in the distribution of these employments, that the whole business in which all *Bern* is ever in motion, is the catching of the best *Bailiages*, on which a family will have its Eye for many years before they fall; for the *Counsellors* of *Bern* give a very small share of their Estates to their Children when they marry them: all that they propose is to make a *Bailiage* sure to them: for this, they feast and drink, and spare nothing by which they may make sure a sufficient number of votes; but it is the *chamber* of the *Bannerets* that admits the pretenders to the competition. When the *Bailif* is chosen, he takes all possible methods to make the best of it he can, and lets few crimes pass, that carry either confiscations or fines after them, his justice also is generally suspected. It is true, those of the *Bailiage* may complain to the *Council* at *Bern*, as the oppressed *Provinces* did anciently to the *Senate* of *Rome*, and there have been severe judgments against some very exorbitant *Bailifs*; yet as complaints are not made, except upon great occasions, which are not often given by the *Bailifs*, so it being the general interest

interest of the *Citizens of Bern* to make all possible advantages of those employments, the censure will be but gentle, except the complaint is crying.

In *Bern* there is very little Trade, only what is necessary for the support of the Town. They maintain *Professors* in the Universities of *Bern* and *Lausanne*; the one for the *German Territory*, which is the Ancient *Canton*, and the other for the new Conquest, which is the French: In the former there are about 300, *Parishes*; in the latter there are but about 150: But in the *Benefices* of the *German* side, the ancient Rights of the incumbents are generally preserved so, that some *Benefices* are worth a thousand *Crowns*. Whereas in the *pais des Vaud*, the provisions are set off as salaries, and are generally from one hundred to two hundred *Crowns*: It is visible that those of *Bern* trust more to the affections and fidelity of their *Subjects*, than to the strength of their *Walls*; For as they have never finished them, so what is built cannot be brought to a regular fortification; and it is not preserved with any care, nor furnished with *Canon*; but if they have none on their *Ramparts*, they have good store in their *Arsenal*, in which they say there are *Arms* for forty thousand Men.

The *Peasants* are generally rich, chiefly on the *German* side, and are all well *Armed*; they pay no duties to the Publick: and the soil is capable of great cultivation, in which some succeed so well, that I was shewed some that were by accident at *Bern*, who, as I was told, had of

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*Estate* to the value of an hundred thousand *Crowns*, but that is not ordinary; yet ten thousand *Crowns*, for a *Peasants*, is no extraordinary matter. They live much on their Milk and Corn, which in some places, as about *Payern*, yields an encrease of 15. measures after one: they breed many *Horses*, which bring them in a great deal of money. The worst thing in the Country is, the moisture of the *Air*, which is not only occasioned by the many *Lakes* that are in it, and the Neighbouring *Mountains* that are covered with *Snow*, some all the Summer long, and the rest till Mid-Summer; but by the vast quantity of Woods of *Fir-trees*, which seem to fill very near the half of their soil; and if these were for the most part rooted out, as they would have much more soil, so their *Air* would be much purer; yet till they find either *Coal* or *Turf* for their fuel, this cannot be done. I was told, that they had found *Coal* in some places: If the *Coal* is conveniently situated, so that by their *Lakes* and *Rivers* it can be easily carried over the Country, it may save them a great extent of ground, that as it is covered with Wood, so the *Air* becomes thereby the more unwholesome.

They have some *Fountains* of *Salt-water*, but the making *Salt* consumes so much Wood, that hitherto it has not turn'd to any account.

The *Men* are generally sincere, but heavy; they think it necessary to correct the moisture of the *Air* with liberal entertainments; and they  
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are well furnished with all necessary ingredients; for as their soil produces good *Cattle*, so their Lakes abound in *Fish*, and their Woods in *Fowl*, the *Wine* is also light and good. The *Women* are generally imployed in their domestick Affairs; and the *Wives*, even of the chief Magistrates of *Bern*, look into all the concerns of the House and Kitchen, as much as the Wives of the meanest Peasants. Men and Women do not converse promiscuously together, and the Women are so much amuzed with the management at home, and enter so little into intrigues, that among them, as an eminent Physitian there told me, *they know not what Vapours are*, which he imputed to the idleness and the intrigues that abound else where; whereas, he said, among them the Blood was cleansed by their labour, and as that made them sleep well, so they did not amuse themselves with much thinking, nor did they know what Amours were: The *third Adultery* is punished with death, which is also the punishment of the *fifth* act of *Fornication*; of which I saw an instance while I was in *Bern*: For a Woman, who confessed her self guilty of many *Whoredoms*, and designed to be revenged on some Men, that did not furnish her liberally with money, was upon that condemned and executed; the manner was solemn; for the *Advoyer* comes into an open Bench in the middle of the Street, and for the satisfaction of the people, the whole Process was read, and Sentence was pronounced

nounced in the hearing of all the Councillors both of the great and lesser Council standing about the *Advoyer*, who after Sentence took the Criminal very gently by the hand, and prayed for her Soul; and after Execution, there was a Sermon for the instruction of the people.

The whole *State* is disposed for *War*; for every man that can bear Arms is listed; and knows his Post and Arms; and there are *Beacons* so laid over the Country, that the signal can run over the whole *Canton* in a night: And their Military *Lifts* are so laid, that every man knows whether he is to come out upon the first or second, or not till the general summons. The assured me at *Bern*, that upon a General Summons they could bring above 80000 Men together, the Men are robust and strong, and capable of great hardship, and of good Discipline, and have generally an extreme sense of Liberty, and a great love to their Country; but they labour under a want of Officers. And though the subjects of the *State* are Rich, yet the publick is poor; they can well resist a sudden Invasion of their Country; but they would soon grow weary of a long War; and the soil requires so much cultivation, that they could not spare from their labour the Men that would be necessary to preserve their Country: they were indeed as happy as a people could be, when the *Emperour* had *Alsace* on the one hand, and the *Spaniards* had the *Franche Comté* on the other, they had no reason to fear their Neighbours; but now  
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that both those *Provinces* are in the hands of the *French*, the case is quite altered; for as *Basil* is every moment in danger from the Garison of *Huningen*, that is but a Canon shot distant from it, so all the *Pais de Vaud* lies open to the *Franche Comté*, and has neither Fortified Places, nor good Passes to secure it; so that their error in suffering this to fall into the hands of the *French* was so gross, that I took some pains to be informed concerning it, and will here give you this account, that I had from one who was then in a very Eminent Post, so that as he certainly knew the Secret, he seemed to speak sincerely to me. He told me, that the *Duke of Lorraine*, had often moved in the *Council of War*, that the Invasion of *France* ought to be made on that side, in which *France* lay open, and was very ill fortified: this he repeated often, and it was known in *France*: so that, the *King* resolved to possess himself of the *Comté*, but used that precaution, that fearing to provoke the *Switzers*, he offered a neutrality on that side; but the *Spaniards*, who judged right, that it was as much the interest of the *Cantons*, as it was theirs, to preserve the *Comté* in their hands, refused to consent to it; but they took no care to defend it, and seemed to leave that to the *Switzers*. In the mean while, the *French Money* went about very liberally at *Bern*, and after those that were most likely to make opposition were gained; the *French Minister* proposed to them

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the necessity in which his Master found himself engaged to secure himself on that side; but that still he would grant a neutrality on their account, if the *Spaniards* would agree to it; and with this, all the Assurances that could be given in Words were offered to them, that they should never find the least Prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the *French*; but on the contrary, all possible Protection. There was just Cause given by the *Spaniards* to consider them very little in their Deliberation: for they would neither accept of the Neutrality, nor lend a considerable force to preserve the Country, so that it seemed almost inevitable to give way to the *French* Proposition; but one proposed that which an un-biased Assembly would certainly have accepted, that they should go themselves and take the Country; and by so doing, they would secure the Neutrality, which was all that the *French* pretended to desire; and they might easily satisfy the *Spaniards*, and reimburse themselves of the Expence of the Invasion, by restoring the Country to them, when a General Peace should be made. He laid out the misery to which their Country must be reduced by so powerful a Neighbour, but all was lost labour; so he went out in a rage, and published through the *Town*, that the State was sold, and all was lost. They now see their error too late, and would repair it, if it were possible, but the truth is, many of the particular Members of this State, do so prey upon the

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the publick, that unless they do with one consent reform those Abuses, they will never be in a condition to do much: for in many of their *Bailiages*, of which some are *Abbeys*, the *Bailifs* not only feed on the *Subjects*, but likewise on the *State*, and pretend they are so far super-expended, that they discount a great deal of the publick revenue, of which they are the *Receivers* for their *Reimbursement*: which made *Mr. d'Erlack* once say, when one of those *Accounts* was presented, *That it was very strange if the Abbey could not feed the Monks*. It is true, the power of their *Bannerets* is so great, that one would think they might redress many Abuses. The *City of Bern* is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our *Companies of London*, which are the *Bakers*, the *Butchers*, the *Tanners*, and the *Black-Smiths*, and every *Citizen of Bern* does, incorporate himself into one of these Societies, which they call *Abbeys*; for it is likely they were antiently a sort of a *Religious Fraternity*: every one of these chooses two *Bannerets*, who bear office by turns, from four years to four years and every one of them has a *Bailiage* annexed to his Office, which he holds for life. They carry their name from the *Banners* of the several *Abbeys*, as the *Gonfaloniers* of *Italy*: and the *Advoyers* carry still their name from the ancient titles *Ecdicus*, or *Advocate*, that was the title of the Chief *Magistrates* of the *Towns* in the times of the *Roman Emperours*. The Chamber of the four *Bannerets* that bear Office, has a vast Power,

they examine and pass all Accounts, and they admit all the Competitors to any offices, so that no man can be proposed to the *Council* of 200. without their Approbation ; and this being now the Chief Intrigue of their *State*, they have so absolute an Authority in shutting men out from employments, that their office, which is for life, is no less considerable than that of the *Advoyer*, though they are inferiour to him in rank. They manage matters with great address, of which this instance was given me in a competition for the *Advoyer-ship* not long ago ; there was one whose temper was violent, that had made it so sure among those who were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his kindred, nor Alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other competitor, whom they favoured, so they set up a third competitor, whose kindred were the persons that were made sure to him, whose advancement they opposed, and by this means they were all shut out from voting, so that the *Election* went according to the design of the *Bannerets*. The chief man now in *Bern*, who was the reigning *Advoyer* when I was there, is Mr. d' Erlack, Nephew to that Mr. d' Erlack, who was Governour of *Brisack*, and had a brevet to be a *Marischal of France* ; this is one of the noblest Families in *Bern*, that acted a great part in shaking off the *Austrian Tyranny*, and they have been ever since very much distinguished there from all the rest of their Nobility, the present



*Head* of it is a very extraordinary *Man*, he has a great Authority in his *Canton*, not only as he is *Advoyer*, but by the particular esteem which is payed him. For he is thought the wisest and worthiest *Man* of the *State*, though it is somewhat strange how he should bear such a sway in such a *Government*; for he neither feasts, nor drinks with the rest. He is a *Man* of great Sobriety and Gravity, very reserved, and behaves himself liker a *Minister of State* in a *Monarchy*, than a *Magistrate* in a *Popular Government*. For one sees in him none of those Arts, that seem necessary in such a *Government*. He has a great Estate, and no Children; so he has no Projects for his Family; and does what he can to correct the Abuses of the *State*, though the disease is inveterate, and seems past cure.

He had a Misfortune in a *War* that was thirty years ago, in the year 1656. between the *Popish* and the *Protestant Cantons*: the occasion of which will engage me in a short digression. The peace of *Switzerland* is chiefly preserved by a *Law* agreed on among all the *Cantons*, that every *Canton* may make what Regulations concerning *Religion* they think fit, without prejudice to the *General League*. Now the *Popish Cantons* have made *Laws*, that it shall be capital to any to change their *Religion*, and on a set day every year they go all to Mass, and the *Masters of Families* swear to continue true to the *State*, and firm in their *Religion* to their lives end; and so they pretend  
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they punish their falling into Heresie with Death and Confiscation of Goods, because it is a violation of the Faith, which is so solemnly sworn. But on the other hand, in the *Protestant Cantons*, such as turn are only obliged to go and live out of the *Canton*; but for their Estates, they still preserve them, and are permitted to sell them. One cannot but observe more of the merciful Spirit of the *Gospel* in the one, than in the other. In *two Cantons*, *Appenzel*, and *Glaris*, both Religions are tollerated, and are capable of equal Priviledges, and in some *Bailiages* that were conquered in common by the Cantons of *Bern* and *Friburg*, in the Wars with *Savoy*, the *two Cantons* name the *Pa lfs* by turns, and both Religions are so equally tollerated, that in the same Church they have both *Mass* and *Sermon*, so equally, that on one *Sunday*, the *Mass* begins, and the *Sermon* follows, and the next *Sunday*, the *Sermon* begins, and the *Mass* comes next, without the least disorder or murmuring.

But in the year 1656. some of the *Can:ons* of *Schwitz* changing their Religion, and retiring to *Zurich*, their Estates were confiscated; and some others, that had also changed, but had not left the *Canton*, were taken and beheaded. *Zurich* demanded the Estates of the refugees, but intstead of granting this, the *Canton* of *Schwitz* demanded back their subjects, that they might proceed against them as delinquents, and they founded this on a Law, by which the *Cantons* are obliged to

deliver up the Criminals of another *Canton*, when they come among them, if they are demanded by the *Canton* to which they belong; but those of *Zurich* and *Bern* thought this was both inhuman and unchristian, though the *Deputy of Basil* was of another mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up, which extremely disgusted those of *Zurich*. Those of *Schwitz* committed some insolences upon the subjects of *Zurich*, and refused to give satisfaction. Upon all which a War followed between the *Protestant* and *Popish* Cantons. The Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* raised an Army of 25000 Men, which was commanded by Mr. d'Erlack, but was dispersed in several Bodies: And the *Papists* had not above 6000, yet they surprised Mr. d'Erlack with a body not much superiour to theirs, both sides after a short engagement, run, the Canon of the Canton of *Bern* was left in the Field a whole day, at last those of *Lucern* seeing that none stayed to defend the Canon, carried them off; this loss raised such a tumult in *Bern*, that they seemed resolved to sacrifice Mr. d'Erlack; but he came with such a presence of mind, and gave so satisfying an account of the Misfortune, that the Tumult ceased, and soon after the War ended. Upon this many thought, that though the *Papists* acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other *Canton* could pretend to interpose or quarrel with those of *Schwitz* for what they did upon that occasion. Within these few years there were  
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some quarrels like to arise in the *Canton of Glaris*, where it was said, that the equal priviledges agreed on to both *Religions* were not preserved; but on this occasion the *Popes Nuntio* acted a very different part from that which might have been expected from him; For whereas the *Ministers* of that *Court* have been commonly the Incendiaries in all the disputes that concern *Religion*, he acted rather the part of a Mediator; and whereas it was visible, that the injustice lay on the side of the *Papists*, he interposed so effectually with those of *Lucern*, which is the chief of the *Popish Cantons*, that the difference was composed.

But to return to *Bern*, the buildings have neither great magnificence, nor many Appartments, but they are convenient, and suited to the way of living in the Country. The *Streets* not only of *Bern* and the bigger Towns, but even of the smallest *Villages*, are furnished with *Fountains* that run continually, which as they are of great use, so they want not their beauty. The great Church of *Bern* is a very noble Fabrick; but being built on the top of the Hill on which the Town stands, it seems the ground began to fail, so to support it, they have raised a vast Fabrick, which has cost more than the Church it self; for there is a Platform made, which is a square, to which the Church is one side, and the further side is a vast *Wall*, fortified with buttresses about 150 foot high. They told me, that all the ground

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down to the bottom of the Hill was dug into vaults; this plat-form is the cheif walk of the Town, chiefly about Sun set; and the *River* underneath presents a very beautiful prospect: For there is a Cut taken off from it for the Mills, but all along as this cut goes the Water of *Aar* runs over a sloping bank of Stone, which they say, was made at a vast charge, and makes a noble and large *Cascade*.

The second Church is the *Dominicans Chappel*, where I saw the famous hole that went to an *Image* in the Church, from one of the *Cells* of the *Dominicans*, which leads me to set down that Story at some length: For as it was one of the most signal cheats, that the World has known: so it falling about *twenty years* before the *Reformation* was received in *Bern*, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the Spirits of the People to that change. I am the more able to give a particular account of it, because I read the *original process* in the *Latin record*, signed by the *Naries* of the Court of the *delegates* that the *Pope* sent to try the matter. The record is above 130 sheets, writ close, and of all sides, it being indeed a large volume; and I found the printed accounts so defective, that I was at the pains of reading the whole process, of which I will give here a true abstract.

The two famous *Orders*, that had possessed themselves of the esteem of those dark ages, were engaged in a mighty rivalry. The *Dominicans* were

were the more learned, they were the eminentest Preachers of those times, and had the conduct of the *Courts of Inquisition*, and the other chief offices in the *Church* in their hands. But on the other hand, the *Franciscans* had an outward appearance of more severity, a ruder habit, stricter rules, and greater poverty: all which gave them such advantages in the eyes of the simple multitude, as were able to ballance the other honours of the *Dominican Order*. In short, the two Orders were engaged in a high rivalry, but the devotion towards the *Virgin* being the prevailing passion of those times, the *Franciscans* upon this had great advantages. The *Dominicans*, that are all engaged in the defence of *Thomas Aquinas's* opinions, were thereby obliged to assert, that she was born in *Original Sin*; this was proposed to the people by the *Franciscans* as no less than *Blasphemy*, and by this the *Dominicans* began to loose ground extremely in the minds of the people, who were strongly prepossessed in favour of the *immaculate Conception*.

About the beginning of the 15th Century, a *Franciscan* happened to preach in *Francfort*, and one *Wigand* a *Dominican* coming into the Church, the *Cordelier* seeing him, broke out into exclamations, praising God that he was not of an Order that prophaned the *Virgin*, or that poysoned Princes in the Sacrament, (for a *Dominican* had poysoned the Emperor *Henry* the VII. with the Sacrament,) *Wigand* being extremely provoked



with this bloody reproach, gave him the Lye, upon which a dispute arose, which ended in a tumult, that had almost cost the *Dominican* his life, yet he got away. The whole Order resolved to take their revenge, and in a *Chapter*, held at *Vimpsen* in the year 1504. they contrived a method for supporting the credit of their Order, which was much sunk in the opinion of the people, and for bearing down the reputation of the *Franciscans*, four of the juncto undertook to manage the design; for they said, since the people were so much disposed to believe Dreams and Fables, they must dream of their side, and endeavour to cheat the people as well as the others had done. They resolved to make *Bern* the Scene in which the project should be put in execution; for they found the people of *Bern*, at that time apt to Swallow any thing, and not disposed to make severe Enquiries into extraordinary Matters. When they had formed their design, a fit Tool presented it self; for one *Fetzer* came to take their habit as a *Lay-brother* who had all the dispositions that were necessary for the execution of their project: For he was extream simple, and was much inclined to Austerities, so having observed his temper well, they began to execute their project, the very Night after he took the *Habit*, which was on *Lady-day* 1507. one of the *Fryers* conveyed himself secretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in *Purgatory*, in a strange figure,

gure, and he had a Box near his mouth, upon which as he blew, fire seemed to come out of his mouth. He had also some Dogs about him, that appeared as his Tormentors, in this posture he came near the Fryer, while he was a Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they used to tell all their Fryers, to beget in them a great dread at the laying aside their habit, which was, that one of the Order, who was Superiour of their House at *Saloturni*, had gone to *Paris*, but laying aside his habit, was killed in his Lay-habit. The Fryer in the Vizar said, he was that person, and was condemned to *Purgatory* for that Crime; but he added, that he might be rescued out of it by his means, and he seconded this with most horrible Cries, expressing the Miseries which he suffered. The poor Fryer (*Fetzer*) was excessively frightened, but the other advanced, and required a Promise of him to do that which he should desire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his Torment. The frightened Fryer promised all that he asked of him; then the other said, he knew he was a great Saint, and that his prayers and mortifications would prevail; but they must be very extraordinary. The whole Monastery must for a week together discipline themselves with a Whip, and he must lie prostrate in the form of one on a *Cross*, in one of their *Chappels*, while Mass was said in the sight of all that should come together to it; and he added, that if he did this, he should find the effects

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effects of the love that the *B. Virgin* did bear him, together with many other extraordinary things; and said, he would appear again accompanied with two other Spirits; and assured him, that all that he did suffer for his deliverance, should be most gloriously rewarded. Morning was no sooner come than the *Fryer* gave an account of this Apparition to the rest of the *Convent*, who seemed extremely surprised at it, they all pressed him to undergo the discipline that was enjoined him, and every one undertook to bear his share; so the deluded *Fryer* performed it all exactly in one of the *Chappels* of their *Church*: This drew a vast number of Spectators together, who all considered the poor *Fryer* as a Saint, and in the mean while the four *Fryers* that managed the imposture, magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the skies in their Sermons. The *Fryer's* Confessor was upon the Secret, and by this means they knew all the little passages of the poor *Fryers* life, even to his thoughts, which helped them not a little in the Conduct of the matter. The Confessor gave him an *Hostie*, with a piece of Wood, that was, as he pretended, a true piece of the *Cross*, and by these he was to fortify himself, if any other Apparitions should come to him, since evil Spirits would be certainly chained up by them. The Night after that, the former Apparition was renewed, and the masqued *Fryer* brought two others with him in such Vizzards, that the *Fryer* thought they were Devils indeed.

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The *Fryer* presented the *Hostie* to them, which gave them such a check, that he was fully satisfied of the vertue of this preservative.

The *Fryer*, that pretended he was suffering in *Purgatory*, said so many things to him relating to the Secrets of his life, and Thoughts, which he had from the *Confessor*, that the poor *Fryer* was fully possessed with the opinion of the reallity of the Apparition. In two of these Apparitions, that were both managed in the same manner, the *Fryer* in the Masque talked much of the *Dominican Order*, which he said was excessively dear to the *B. Virgin*, who knew her self to be conceived in Original sin, and that the *Doctors* who taught the contrary were in *Purgatory*: That the Story of *S. Bernards* appearing with a spot on him, for having opposed himself to the feast of the Conception, was a Forgery: but that it was true, that some hideous Flies had appeared on *St. Bonaventures Tomb*, who taught the contrary. That the *B. Virgin* abhorred the *Cordeliers* for making her equal to her Son; that *Scotus* was damned, whose Canonization the *Cordeliers* were then soliciting hard at *Rome*; and that the Town of *Bern* would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within their walls. When the enjoined discipline was fully performed, the *Spirit* appeared again, and said, he was now delivered out of *Purgatory*, but before he could be admitted to Heaven he must receive the Sacrament, having died without it, and  
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after that he would say Mass for those, who had by their great charities rescued him out of his pains. The *Fryer* fancied the voice resembled the *Priors* a little ; but he was then so far from suspecting any thing, that he gave no great heed to this suspicion. Some days after this, the same *Fryer* appeared as a *Nun* all in Glory, and told the poor *Frier*, that she was *St. Barbary*, for whom he had a particular devotion, and added, that the *B. Virgin* was so much pleased with his charity, that she intended to come and visit him: He immediately called the *Convent* together, and gave the rest of the *Fryers* an account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them all with great joy ; and the *Fryer* languished in desires of the accomplishment of the promise, that *St. Barbara* had made him. After some days, the longed for delusion appeared to him, clothed as the *Virgin* used to be on the great Feasts, and indeed in the same Habits: there were about her some *Angels*, which he afterwards found were the little Statues of *Angels*, which they set on the Altars on the great Holy Days. There was also a pulley fastned in the room over his head, and a cord tied to the *Angels*, that made them rise up in the Air, and flie about the *Virgin*, which encreased the delusion. The *Virgin*, after some endearments to himself, extolling the merit of his charity and discipline, told him, that she was conceived in Original Sin, and that *Pope Julius the Second*, that then reigned, was to put an end

to the Dispute, and was to abolish the Feast of her Conception, which *Sixtus the fourth* had instituted, and that the *Fryer* was to be the Instrument of perswading the *Pope* of the truth in that matter: She gave him *three drops* of her Sons blood, which were *three tears* of blood that he had shed over *Jerusalem*, and this signified that she was *three hours* in Original Sin, after which she was, by his Mercy, delivered out of that State: For it seems the *Dominicans* were resolved so to compound the matter, that they should gain the main point of her Conception in Sin; yet they would comply so far with the reverence for the *Virgin*, with which the World was possessed, that she should be believed to have remained a very short while in that State. She gave him also five drops of Blood in the form of a Cross, which were *Tears* of Blood, that she had shed while her Son was on the Cross. And, to convince him more fully, she presented an *Hostie* to him, that appeared as an ordinary Hostie, and of a sudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour. The cheat of those supposed visits was often repeated to the abused *Fryer*; at last the *Virgin* told him, that she was to give him such marks of her Sons Love to him, that the matter should be past all doubt. She said, that the five wounds of *St. Lucia*, and *St. Catherine* were real wounds, and that she would also imprint them on him; so she bid him reach his hand; he had no great mind to receive a favour in which he was to suffer.



suffer so much : but she forced his hand, and struck a nail through it, the hole was as big as a grain of pease, and he saw the Candle clearly through it ; this threw him out of a supposed transport into a real Agony ; but she seemed to touch his hand, and he thought he smelt an Oyntment, with which he anointed it, though his *Confessor* perswaded him, that that was only an imagination, so the supposed *Virgin* left him for that time.

The next night the Apparition returned and brought some Linnen Cloths, which had some real or imaginary vertue to allay his Torment : and the pretended *Virgin* said, they were some of the Linnings in which Christ was wrapped, and with that she gavè him a soporiferous draught, and while he was fast asleep, the other four wounds were imprinted on his body, in such a manner that he felt no pain.

But in order to the doing of this, the *Fryers* betook themselves to Charms, and the *Subprior* shewed the rest a book full of them ; but he said, that before they could be effectual, they must renounce God, and he not only did this himself, but by a formal act put in writing signed with his Blood, he dedicated himself to the Devil ; it is true, he did not oblige the rest to this, but only to renounce God. The composition of the the Draught was a mixture of some Fountain-water and Chrism, the Hairs of the Eyebrows of a Child, some Quicksilver, some grains of  
Incense

Incense, somewhat of an Easter Wax-Candle, some consecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptised Child. This Composition was a secret, which the *Subprior* did not communicate to the other *Fryers*. By this the poor Fryer *Fetzer* was made almost quite insensible: when he was awake, and came out of this deep sleep, he felt this wonderful impression on his body, and now he was ravished out of measure, and came to fancy himself to be acting all the parts of our Saviours Passion: he was exposed to the people on the great Altar, to the amazement of the whole Town, and to the no small mortification of the *Franciscans*. The *Dominicans* gave him some other draughts that threw him into convulsions, and when he came out of those, a voice was heard, which came through that hole which yet remains, and runs from one of the Cells along a great part of the Wall of the Church: for a Fryer spoke through a Pipe, and at the End of the hole there was an Image of the *Virgins*, with a little *Jesus* in her Arms, between whom and his mother the voice seemed to come; the Image also seemed to shed Tears, and a Painter had drawn those on her Face so lively, that the people were deceived by it. The little *Jesus* askt, why she wept? and she said, it was because his honour was given to her, since it was said that she was born without sin; in Conclusion, the *Fryers* did so over-act this matter, that at last even the poor deluded Fryer himself came

came to discover it, and resolved to quit the Order.

It was in vain to delude him with more *Appearitions*; for he well nigh kill'd a *Fryer* that came to him personating the *Virgin* in another shape with a Crown on her Head: he also overheard the *Fryers* once talking amongst themselves, of the Contrivance and Success of the imposture, so plainly, that he discovered the whole Matter, and upon that, as may be easily imagined, he was filled with all the horror with which such a Discovery could inspire him.

The *Fryers* fearing that an imposture, which was carried on hitherto with so much success, should be quite spoiled, and be turned against them, thought the surest way was to own the whole Matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him in what esteem he would be, if he continued to support the reputation that he had acquired, that he would become the chief Person of the Order; and in the end they persuaded him to go on with the Imposture: but at last, they fearing lest he should discover all, resolved to Poyson him: of which he was so apprehensive, that once a Loaf being brought him that was prepared with some Spices, he kept it for some time, and it growing green, he threw it to some young Wolves Whelps that were in the Monastery, who died immediately. His constitution was also so vigorous, that though they gave him Poyson five several times, he was

not

not destroyed by it ; they also prest him earnestly to renounce God, which they judged necessary, that so their Charms might have their effect on him ; but he would never consent to that: at last they forced him to take a poysoned *Hestie*, which yet he vomited up soon after he had swallowed it down ; that failing, they used him so cruelly, whipping him with an Iron Chain, and girding him about so strait with it, that to avoid further Torment he swore to them, in a most imprecating stile, that he would never discover the secret, but would still carry it on; and so he deluded them till he found an opportunity of getting out of the *Convent*, and of throwing himself into the hands of the *Magistrates*, to whom he discovered all.

The four *Fryers* were seized on, and put in Prison, and an account of the whole Matter was sent, first to the *Bishop* of *Lausanne*, and then to *Rome* ; and it may be easily imagined, that the *Franciscans* took all possible care to have it well examined, the *Bishop* of *Lausanne*, and of *Zyon*, with the *Provincial* of the *Dominicans*, were appointed to form the *Process*. The four *Fryers* first excepted to *Fetters* credit ; but that was rejected : then being threatened with the *Question*, they put in a long plea against that ; but though the *Provincial* would not consent to that, yet they were put to the question ; some endured it long ; but at last, they all confessed the whole progress of the *Imposture*. The *Provincial* appeared concerned;

cerned; for though *Fetzer* had opened the whole Matter to him, yet he would give no credit to him; on the contrary, he charged him to be obedient to them, and one of the *Fryers* said plainly, that he was in the whole secret, and so he withdrew, but he died some days after at *Constance*, having Poyson'd himself, as was believed. The Matter lay asleep sometime, but a year after that, a *Spanish Bishop* came, authoris'd with full power from *Rome*, and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four *Fryers* were solemnly degraded from their *Priesthood*, and eight days after, it being the last of *May* 1509, they were *Burnt* in a Medow, on the other side of the River, over against the great *Church*; The place of their *Execution* was shewed me, as well as the Hole in the Wall, through which the *Voice* was Conveyed to the *Image*. It was certainly one of the blackest, and yet the best-carried on Cheat, that has been ever known; and no doubt had the poor *Fryer* died, before the discovery, it had passed down to posterity, as one of the greatest *Miracles* that ever was, and it gives a shrewd suspicion, that many of the *Miracles* of that *Church*, were of the same nature, but more successfully finished.

I shall not entertain you any further with the *State of Bern*, but shall only add one general remark, which was too visible not to be observed every where, and of too great importance not to deserve a particular reflection; it belongs in  
general

general to all the *Cantons*, but I give it here, because I had more occasion to make it in *Bern*, having seen it more, and stayed longer in it, than in the other *Cantons*.

*Switzerland* lies between *France* and *Italy*, that are both of them Countries incomparably more Rich, and better furnished with all the Pleasures and Conveniences of Life than it is; and yet *Italy* is almost quite dispeopled, and the people in it are reduced to a misery, that can scarce be imagined by those who have not seen it; and *France* is in a great measure dispeopled, and the Inhabitants are reduced to a Poverty that appears in all the marks in which it can shew it self, both in their Houses, Furniture, Clothes and Looks.

On the contrary, *Switzerland* is extream full of People, and in several places in the *Villages*, as well as in their *Towns*, one sees all the marks he can look for of Plenty and Wealth, their Houses and Windows are in good case, the Highwaies are well maintained, all people are well Clothed, and every one lives at his ease. This Observation surpris'd me yet more in the Country of the *Grisons*, who have almost no soil at all, being situated in *Valleys*, that are almost all washed away with the Torrents, that fall down from the *Hills*, and swell their brooks sometimes so violently, and so suddenly, that in many places the whole Soil is washed away, and yet those *Valley*, are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at ease, under a gentle Government, whilst other  
rich



rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to such Misery, that as many of the Inhabitants are forced to change their seats, so those who stay behind, can scarce live and pay those grievous Impositions that are laid upon them; the *rude people* generally reason very simply when they enter into Speculations of Government, but *they feel true, though they argue false*; so an easy Government, though joyned to an ill soil, and accompanied with great inconveniences, draws, or at least keeps people in it, whereas a severe Government, tho in general ideas it may appear reasonable, drives its subjects even out of the best and most desirable seats.

In my way from *Bern* to this place I passed by *Solothurn*, and I came through *Fribourg* in my way from *Lausanne* to *Bern*, there are two of the Chief of the *Papish Cantons*, after *Lucerne*, and one sees in them a heat, and bigotry beyond what appears either in *France* or *Italy*: long before they come within the Church doors they kneel down in the Streets when Mass is saying in it. The Images are also extream gross. In the Chief Church of *Solothurn* there is an Image of God the Father, as an Old Man with a great Black Beard, having our Saviour on his Knees, and a Pidgeon over his Head. Here also begins a Devotion at the *Ave-Mary-bel*, which is scarce known in *France*, but is practised all *Italy* over: At Noon and at Sun-set the Bell Rings, and all say the *Ave Mary*, and a short Prayer to the *Virgin*; but whereas in

*Italy*

*Italy* they content themselves with putting off their Hats; in *Switzerland* they do for the most part kneel down in the Streets, which I saw no where practised in *Italy* except at *Venice*, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithstanding this extream bigotry, all the *Switzers* see their common interest so well, that they live in a very good understanding one with another. This is indeed chiefly owing to the *Canton of Lucern*, where there is a spirit in the Government very different from what is in most of the other *Popish Cantons*: the residence of the *Spanish Ambassador*, and of the *Nuntio*, in that Town, contributes also much to the preserving it in so good a temper, it being their interest to unite *Switzerland*, and by this means the heat and indiscretion of the rest is often moderated: The *Jesuits* begin to grow as powerful in *Switzerland* as they are elsewhere: they have a Noble Colledge and Chappel situated in the best place of *Friburg*. It is not long since they were received at *Soloturn*, where there was a revenue of 1000 *Livres* a year, set off for the maintenance of ten of them, with this provision, that they should never exceed that number; but where they are once settled, they find means to break through all Limitations, and they are now become so rich there, that they are raising a Church and Colledge, which will cost before it is finished above 400000 *Livres*, to which the *French King* gives 10000 *Livres* for the Frontis-peice: For this being

being the *Canton* in which his *Ambassador* resides he thought it fiteable to his Glory, to have a monument of his bounty raised by an Order, that will never be wanting to flatter their benefactors, as long as they find their account in it.

In the same *Canton* there is an *Abbey* that has 100000 *Livres* of revenue; there is also a very rich House of *Nuns*, that wear the *Capuchins* Habit, that as I was told had 60000 *Livres* of revenue, and but 60 *Nuns* in it, who having thus 1000 *Livres* a piece, may live in all possible Plenty in a Country where a very little Money goes a great way: But that which surprises most at *Soloturn*, is, the great Fortification that they are Building of a Wall about the Town, the Noblest and Solidest that is any where to be seen; the Stone with which it is faced, is a sort of course Marble, but of that bigness, that many Stones are 10 foot long, and two foot of breadth and thickness: But though this will be a work of vast Expence and great Beauty, yet it would signifie little against a great Army that would attack it vigorously. The *Wall* is finished on the side of the *River* on which the Town stands, the *Ditch* is very broad, and the *Counter-scarp* and *Glasier* are also finished, and they are working at a Fort on the other side of the *River* which they intend to fortify in the same manner. This has cost them near two millions of *Livres*, and this vast expence has made them often repent the undertaking; and it is certain, that a fortification

cation that is able to resist the rage of their Peasants in the case of a Rebellion, is all that is needful. This *Canton* has two *Advoyers*, as *Bern*, the little *Council* consists of 36, they have 12 *Bailiages* belonging to them, which are very profitable to those that can carry them, they have one *Bursar*, and but one *Barmeret*. All the *Cantons* have their *Bailiages*; but if there are disorders at *Bern* in the choice of their *Bailifs*, there are far greater among the *Popish Cantons*, where all things are sold, as a *Foreign Minister* that resides there told me, who though he knew what my *Religion* was, did not stick to own frankly to me, that the *Catholic Cantons* were not near so well governed as the *Protestant Cantons*. Justice is generally sold among them, and in their *Treaties* with Foreign Princes, they have sometimes taken *Mony* both from the *French* and *Spanish Ambassadors*, and have signed contradictory *Articles* at the same time.

*Baden* has nothing in it that is remarkable, except its convenient situation, which makes it the seat of the general *Dyet* of the *Cantons*, though it is not one of them, but is a *Bailiage* that belongs in common to eight of the *Ancient Cantons*. At last I came to this place, which as it is the first and most honourable of all the *Cantons*, so with relation to us, it has a precedence of a higher Nature, it being the first that received the *Reformation*.

This

This *Canton* is much less than *Bern*, yet the public is much richer: they reckon that they can bring 50000 Men together upon 24 hours warning, their Subjects live happy: for the *Bailifs* here have regulated appointments, and have only the *hundred Penny* of the fines, so that they are not tempted as those of *Bern* are, to whom the Fine belongs entirely, to strain matters against their Subjects: and whereas at *Bern* the constant intrigue of the whole *Town* is concerning their *Bailiages*; here on the contrary, it is a service to which the *Citizens* are bound to submit according to their Constitution, but to which they do not aspire. The *Government* is almost the same as at *Bern*, and the *Magistrate* that is called the *Advoyer* at *Bern*, is here called the *Bourgomaster*. The revenue of the *Stare* is here justly accounted for, so that the Public Purse is much richer than at *Bern*; the *Arsenal* is much better furnished, and the Fortifications are more regular. There is a great Trade stirring here; and as their *Lake*, that is 24 miles long, and about two or three broad, supplies them well with Provisions, so their *River* carries their Manufacture to the *Rhine*, from whence it is conveyed as they please. One of their Chief Manufacturies is *Crape*, which is in all respects the best I ever saw. I will not describe the situation of the *Town*, but shall content my self to tell you, that it is extream pleasant; the *Country* about it is *Mountaneous*, and the *Winters* are hard; for the *Lake* freezes quite over,

over, only in some places the Ice never lies, which is believed a mark that some *Springs* rise there, which cause that heat ; so also in the *Lake of Geneva*, though it is never quite frozen, yet great flakes of Ice lie in several parts ; but these are never seen in some parts of the *Lake*, which is supposed to flow from the same cause.

But to return to *Zurich* ; one sees here the true ancient Simplicity of the *Switzers*, not corrupted which *Luxury* or *Vanity* ; their Women not only do not converse familiarly with men, except those of their near kindred, but even on the Streets do not make any returns to the Civility of Strangers ; for it is only Strangers that put off their Hats to Women ; but they make no Courtesies : and here, as in all *Switzerland*, Women are not saluted, but the Civility is expressed by taking them by the Hand. There is one thing singular in the constitution of *Zurich*, that is their *little Council* consists of 50 Persons, but there sit in it only 25 at a time, and so the *two halves* of this *Council*, as each of them has his proper *Bourgomaster*, have also the Government in their Hands by turns, and they shift every six Months, at *Mid-summer* and at *Ebrist-Mass*. The whole *Canton* is divided into nine great *Bailiages*, and 21 *Castellaneries* ; in the former the *Bailif* resides constantly ; but the *Castellan*, who is also one of the *great Council*, has so little to do, that he lives at *Zurich*, and goes only at some set times of the year to do Justice.



The virtue of this *Canton* has appeared significantly in their adhering firmly to the ancient Capitulations with the *French*, and not slackening in any Article, which has been done by all the other *Cantons*, where *Mony* has a Sovereign influence : but here it has never prevailed. They have converted the ancient *Revenues* of the *Church* more generally to pious Uses, than has been done any where else, that I know of. They have many *Hospitals* well entertained : in one, as I was told, there was 650 *poor* kept : but as they support the real Charities, which belong to such endowments, so they despise that vain Magnificence of Buildings, which is too generally affected else-where ; for theirs are very plain, and one of the *Government* there said to me very sensibly, *That they thought it enough to maintain their Poor as Poor ; and did not judge it proper to lodge them as Princes.*

The *Dean* and *Chapter* are likewise still continued as a *Coroporation*, and, enjoy the *revenues*, which they had before the *Reformation* : but if they subsist plentifully, they labour hard ; for they have generally two or three Sermons a day, and at least one : the first begins at five a clock in the Morning. At *Geneva*, and all *Switzerland* over, there are daily Sermons, which were substituted upon the *Reformation* from the *Mass*. But the Sermons are generally too long, and the Preachers have departed from the first design of these Sermons, which were intended to be

be an Explication of a whole Chapter, and an Exhortation upon it; and if this were so contrived, that it were in all not above a quarter of an hour long, as it would be heard by the People with less Weariness and more profit, so it would be a vast Advantage to the Preachers; For as it would oblige them to study the Scriptures much, so having once made themselves Masters of the practical parts of the Scripture, such short and simple Discourses would cost them less pains, than those more laboured Sermons do, which consume the greatest part of their time, and too often to very little purpose.

Among the *Archives* of the *Dean and Chapter*, there is a vast Collection of *Letters*, written either to *Bullinger*, or by him; they are bound up, and make a great many *Volumes in Folio*, and out of these no doubt but one might discover a great many particulars relating to the *History of the Reformation*: For as *Bullinger* lived long, so he was much esteemed. He procured a very kind reception to be given to some of our *English Exiles* in *Queen Maries* Reign, in particular, to *Sands*, afterwards *Arch-Bishop of York*; to *Horn*, afterwards *Bishop of Winchester*; and to *Jewel*, *Bishop of Salisbury*. He gave them Lodgings in the *Cloze*, and used them with all possible kindness; and as they presented some *Silver-Cups* to the *College*, with an *Inscription*, acknowledging the kind Reception they had found there, which I saw, so they continued to keep a constant Correspondence

dence with *Bullinger*, after the happy Re-establishment of the *Reformation* under *Queen Elizabeth*: Of which I read almost a whole Volume while I was there: Most of them contain only the general News, but some were more important, and relate to the Disputes then on foot, concerning the *Habits* of the *Clergy*, which gave the first beginnings to our unhappy Divisions: and by the *Letters* of which I read the *Originals*, it appears, that the *Bishops* preserved the ancient *Habits* rather in compliance with the *Queens* inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them; so far they were from liking them, that they plainly exprest their dislike of them. *Jewel*, in a Letter bearing date the 8. of February 1566. witnesseth, that the *Vestments*, together with all the other Remnants of *Popery*, might be thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the minds of the People, and laments the *Queens* fixedness to them, so that she would suffer no Change to be made. And in January of the same year, *Sands* writes to the same purpose *Contenditur de vestibus Papisticis utendis vel non utendis, dabit Deus his quoque finem*. Disputes are now on foot concerning the *Popish Vestments*, whether they should be used or not; but God will put an end to those things. *Horn*, Bishop of *Winchester*, went further; For in a Letter, dated the 16th of July, 1565. He writes of the same concerning the *Habits*, with great regret, and expresses some hopes that it might be repealed next Session of Parliament, if the *Popish Party* did not hinder.

hinder it; and he seems to stand in no doubt, whether he should conform himself to it or not; upon which he desires *Bullingers* Advice. And in many *Letters* writ on that Subject, it is asserted, that both *Cranmer* and *Ridley* intended to procure an *Act* for abolishing the *Habits*, and that they only defended their *Lawfulness*, but not their *Fitness*; and therefore they blamed private Persons that refused to obey the *Laws*. *Grindal* in a Letter dated the 27th of *August*, 1566. writes, That all the *Bishops*, who had been beyond Sea, had at the their return dealt with the *Queen* to let the matter of *Habits* fall: but she was so prepossessed, that though they had all endeavoured to divert her from prosecuting that Matter, she continued still inflexible. This had made them resolve to submit to the *Laws*, and to wait for a fit opportunity to reverse them. He laments the ill effects of the opposition that some had made to them, which had extreamly irritated the *Queens* Spirit, so that She was now much more heated in those matters than formerly; he also thanks *Bullinger* for the Letter that he had writ, justifying the *Lawful Use* of the *Habits*, which he says had done great service. *Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*, in one of his *Letters*, laments the aversion that they found in the *Parliament* to all the *Propositions* that were made for the Reformation of Abuses, *Jewel*, in a Letter dated the 22d. of *May* 1559 writes, That the *Queen* refused to be called *Head of the Church*, and adds, That that *Title* could not be

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justly

justly given to any Mortal, it being due only to *Christ*; and that such Titles had been so much abused by *Antichrist*, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all these *Passages* I will make no reflections here: For I set them down only to shew what was the Sense of our Chief *Church-men* at that time concerning those Matters, which have since engaged us into such warm and angry Disputes; and this may be no inconsiderable Instruction to one, that intends to write the *History* of that time. The last particular, with which I intend to end this *Letter*, might seem a little too learned, if I were writing to a less knowing Man than your self.

I have taken some pains in my *Travels* to examine all the Ancient *Manuscripts* of the *New Testament*, concerning that doubted passage of *St. Johns* Epistle, *There are three that bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these three are one.* Bullinger doubted much of it, because he found it not in an ancient *Latin Manuscript* at *Zurich*; which seems to be about 800 years old: For it is written in that hand that began to be used in *Charles the Great's* time. I turned the *Manuscript*, and found the passage was not there; but this was certainly the Errour or Omission of Copier: For before the *General Epistles* in that Manuscript, the *Preface of St. Jerome* is to be found, in which he says, that he was the more exact in that *Translation*, that so he might discover the Fraud, of the *Arrians*, who had

had struct out that passage concerning the *Trinity*. This *Preface* is printed in *Lira's Bible*: but how it came to be left out by *Erasmus* in his Edition of that Father's Works, is that of which I can give no account: For as on the one hand, *Erasmus's* sincerity ought not to be too rashly censured; so on the other hand, that *Preface* being in all the *Manuscripts* Ancient or Modern of those *Bibles* that have the other *Prefaces* in them, that I ever yet saw, it is not easy to imagin what made *Erasmus* not to publish it; and it is in the Manuscript Bibles at *Basil*, where he printed his Edition of *S. Jeromes Works*. In the old Manuscript Bible of *Geneva*, that seems to be above 700 years old, both the *Preface* and the *Passage* are extant, but with this difference from the common Editions, that the common Editions set the Verse concerning *the Father, the Word, and the Spirit*, before that of *the Water, the Blood, and the Spirit*; which comes after it in this Copy: And that I may in this place end all the Readings I found of this passage in my Travels, there is a Manuscript in *St. Mark's Library* in *Venice* in three Languages, *Greek, Latin, and Arabick*, that seems not above 400 years old, in which this passage is not in the *Greek*, but it is in the *Latin* set after the other three, with a *sicut* to joyn it to what goes before. And in a Manuscript *Latin-Bible* in the Library of *St. Laurence* at *Florence*, both *St. Jeromes Preface* and this *Passage* are extant: but this *Passage* comes after the other,



and is pinned to it with a *sicut*, as is that of *Venice*: yet *sicut* is not in the *Geneva Manuscript*. There are two *Greek Manuscripts* of the *Epistles* at *Basil*, that seem to be about 500 years old, in neither of which this passage is to be found: they have also an *Ancient Latin Bible*, which is about 800. years old, in which, though *St. Jerom's Prologue* is inserted, yet this *Passage* is wanting. At *Strasburg*, I saw four very *Ancient Manuscripts* of the *New Testament* in *Latin*: three of these seemed to be about the time of *Charles the Great*, but the fourth seemed to be much ancients, and may belong to the seventh *Century*: in it neither the *Prologue* nor the *Place* is extant: but it is added at the foot of the *Page* with another hand. In two of the other, the *Prologue* is extant, but the *Place* is not: only in one of them it is added on the *Margin*. In the fourth, as the *Prologue* is extant, so is the *Place* likewise, but it comes after the verse of the other three, and is joyned to it thus, *Sicut tres sunt in calo.*

It seem'd strange to me, and it is almost incredible, that in the *Vatican Library* there are no *Ancient Latin Bibles*, where above all other place they ought to be lookt for: but I saw none above 400 years old. There is indeed the famous *Greek Manuscript* of great value, which the *Chanoine Shelftrat*, that was *Library-keeper*, asserted to be 1400 years old, and proved it by the great similitude of the *Characters* with those that are  
upon

upon *S. Hippolites Statue*, which is so evident, that if his Statue was made about his time, the antiquity of this *Manuscript* is not to be disputed. If the *Characters* are not so fair, and have not all the marks of *Antiquity* that appears in the *Kings Manuscript* at *S. James's*, yet this has been much better preserved, and is much more entire. The *Passage* that has led me into this digression, is not to be found in the *Vatican Manuscript*, no more than it is in the *Kings Manuscript*. And with this I will finish my account of *Zurich*. The *publick Library* is very noble : the Hall in which it is placed, is large and well contrived ; There is a very handsom *Cabinet of Medals*, and so I will break off ; but when I have gone so much farther, that I have gathered *Materials* for another *Letter* of this Volume, you may look for a second Entertainment, such as it is from.

Your &c.

### POSTSCRIPT.

I told you, that in *Bern* the *Bailiages* are given by a sort of a *Ballot*, which is so managed, that no mans *Vote* is known : but I must now add, that since I was first there, they have made a considerable Regulation in the way of *Voting*, when *Offices* are to be given, which approaches much nearer the *Venetian Method*, and which exposes the *Competitors* more to chance, and by consequence, may put an end to the *Intrigues*, that are so much in use for obtaining

those Employments. There is a number of *Balls* put into a *Box*, equal to the number of those that have right to *vote*, and that are present; of these the third part is *guilt*, and two parts are only *silvered*, so every one takes out a *Ball*; but none can *vote* except those who have the *guilt Balls*; so that hereafter a man may have more than two thirds sure, and yet be cast in a Competition.

There is one thing for which the *Switzers*, in particular those of *Bern*, cannot be enough commended, they have ever since the *Persecution* began first in *France*, opened a *Sanctuary* to such as have retired thither, in so generous and so *Christian* a manner, that it deserves all the honourable *Remembrances* that can be made of it: such *Ministers* and others, that were at first condemned in *France*, for the affair of the *Cevennes*, have not only found a kind Reception here, but all the Support that could be expected, and indeed much more than could have been in reason expected. For they have assigned the *French Ministers* a Pension of *five Crowns* a month, if they were unmarried, and have increased it to such as had Wives and Children, so that some had above *ten Crowns* a month Pension. They dispersed them over all the *Pâis de Vaud*: but the greatest number staid at *Lausanne* and *Vevay*. In order to the supporting of this charge, the *Charities* of *Zurich*, and the other neighbouring *Protestant States*, were brought hither. Not only the *Protestant Cantons*, but the *Grisons*, and some small

*States,*

*States*, that are under the Protection of the *Cantons*, such as *Neufchâtel*, *S. Gall* and some others, have sent in their Charities to *Bern*, who dispence them with great discretion, and bear what further charge this Relief brings upon them; and in this last total and deplorable dispersion of those *Churches*, the whole *Country* has been animated with such a Spirit of Charity and Compassion, that every Mans House and Purse has been opened to the *Refugies*, that have passed thither in such numbers, that sometimes there have been above 2000 in *Lausanne* alone, and of these there were at one time near 200 *Ministers*, and they all met with a Kindness and Freeheartedness, that lookt more like somewhat of the *Primitive Age* revived, than the Degeneracy, of the *Age* in which we live.

I shall Conclude this *Postscript*, which is already swelled to the bigness of a *Letter*, with a sad Instance of the Anger and Heat that rises among *Divines* concerning Matters of very small consequence.

The middle way that *Amirald*, *Daille*, and some others in *France* took in the matters that were disputed in *Holland*, concerning the Divine Decrees, and the extent of the Death of Christ, as it came to be generally followed in *France*, so it had some Assertors both in *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, who denied the *Imputation* of Adams Sin, and asserted the *Universality* of Christ's death, together with a *sufficient* Grace given to all men, asserting with this a particular and free Decree

of Election, with an efficacious Grace for those included in it : these came to be called Universalists, and began to grow very considerable in Geneva : two of the *Professors of Divinity*, there being known to favour those *Opinions*. Upon this, those who adhered strictly to the opposite *Doctrine*, were inflamed, and the Contention grew to that height, that almost the whole *Town* came to be concerned, and all were divided into Parties. If upon this, the *Magistrates* had enjoined silence to both parties, they had certainly acted wisely : for these are *speculations* so little certain, and so little essential to *Religion*, that a Diversity of *Opinions* ought not to be made the occasion of Heat or Faction. But though the party of the *Universalists* was considerable in Geneva, it was very small in *Switzerland*, therefore some *Divines* there, that adhered to the old received *Doctrine*, drew up some *Articles*, in which all these *Doctrines* were not only condemned, together with some to *Speculations*, that were asserted concerning *Adams Immortality*, and other qualities belonging to the State of *Innocency*; but because *Capel* and some other *Criticks* had not only asserted the novelty of the points, but had taken the liberty to correct the reading of the *Hebrew*, supposing that some errors had been committed by the *Copiers* of the *Bible*, both in the *Vowels* and *Consonants*, in opposition to this, they condemned all corrections of the *Hebrew Bible*, and asserted the Antiquity of the *Points*,

or at least of the power and reading according to them; by which, though they did not engage all to be of *Buxtorf's* Opinion, as to the Antiquity of the Points, yet they shut the door against all Corrections of the present *Punctuation*: If this consent of *Doctrine* (for so they termed it) had been made only the Standard, against which no man might have taught, without incurring censures, the severity had been more tolerable: but they obliged all such as should be admitted either to the *Ministry*, or to a *Professors* Chair, to sign *fic sentio*, so I think; and this being so settled at *Bern* and *Zurich*, it was also carried by their authority at *Geneva*: but for those in Office, the *Moderator* and *Clerk* signed it in all their names: and thus they were not contented to make only a Regulation in those Matters, but they would needs, according to a maxim, that hath been so often fatal to the *Church*, enter into Peoples Consciences, and either shut out Young Men from Employments, or impose a *Test* upon them, which perhaps some have signed not without Struglings in their Conscience: Yet some that set on this *Test* or Consent, are Men of such extraordinary Worth, that I am confident they have acted in this matter out of a sincere Zeal, for that which they believe to be the Truth: only I wish they had larger and freer Souls.

The only considerable *Tax* under which the *Switzers* lie, is, that when *Estates* are sold, the *fifth* part of the *Price* belongs to the Publick, and



and all the Abatement that the *Bailif* can make, is to bring it to a *sixth* Part; this they call the *Lod*, which is derived from *Alodium*: only there are some Lands that are *Frank-alod*, which lie not under this *Tax*: but this falling only on the *Sellers* of *Estates*, it was though a just Punishment, and a wise Restraint on ill Husbands of their *Estates*.

I was the more confirmed in the account I have given you of the Derivation of *Advoyer*, when I found that in some small *Towns* in the *Canton* of *Bern*, the chief *Magistrate* is still so called: as in *Payerne*; so that I make no doubt, but as the Ancient *Magistrates* in the time of the *Romans*, that were to give an account of the *Town*, were called *Advocates*, and afterwards the *Judge* in Civil Matters, that was named by the *Bishops*, was called at first *Advocate*, and afterwards *Vidam* or *Vicedominus*; so this was the *Title* that was still continued in *Bern*, while they were under the *Austrian* and *German* Yoke, and was preserved by them when they threw it off.

I have perhaps toucht too slightly the last Difference that was in *Switzerland*, which related to the *Canton* of *Glaris*. In the *Canton* of *Appenzel*, as the two *Religions* are tolerated, so they are separated in different quarters; those of one *Religion* have the one half of the *Canton*, and those of the other *Religion* have the other half, so they live apart: but in *Glaris* they are mixt: and now the number of the *Papists* is become very low; one assured me, there were not above

200 Families of that Religion, and those are also poor, that their Necessities dispose some of them every day to *change* their Religion. The other *Popish Cantons*, seeing the danger of loosing their Interest entirely in that *Canton*, and being set on by the Intrigues of a *Court*, that has understood well the Policy of imbroiling all other *States*, made great use of some Complaints that were brought by the *Papists* of *Glaris*, as if the prevailing of the other Religion exposed them to much Injustice and Oppression; and upon that they proposed, that the *Canton* should be equally divided into two halves, as *Appenzel* was: this was extreamly unjust, since the *Papists* were not the tenth, or perhaps the twentieth part of the *Canton*. It is true, it was so situated in the midst of the *Popish Cantons*, that the *Protestant Cantons* could not easily come to their assistance: but those of *Glaris* resolved to dye rather than suffer this Injustice, and the *Protestant Cantons* resolved to engage in a *War* with the *Popish Cantons*, if they imposed this matter on their Brethren of *Glaris*: at last, this temper was found, that in all Suits of Law between those of different Religions, two thirds of the Judges should be alwaies of the Religion of the Defendant; but while this Contest was on foot, those, who as is believed, fomented it, if they did not set it on, knew how to make their Advantage of the Conjunction; for then was the Fortification of *Hunningen* at the Ports of *Basil* much advanced, of the importance  
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of which, they are now very apprehensive when it is too late. There are six *Noble Families* in *Bern*, that have still this Priviledge, that when any of them is chosen to be of the *Council*, they take place before all the Ancient Councillors, whereas all the rest take place according to the Order in which they were chosen to be of the *Council*.

## THE SECOND LETTER.

*Millan*, the first of *October*, 1685.

AFTER a short stay at *Zurich*, we went down the *Lake*, where we past under the *Bridge* at *Ripperwood*, which is a very noble Work for such a Country; the *Lake* is there about half a mile broad, the *Bridge* is about twelve foot broad, but hath no Rails on either side, so that if the Wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there; a Man is in great danger of being blown into the *Lakes*: and this same defect I found in almost all the *Bridges* of *Lombardy*, which seemed very strange; for since that Defence is made upon so small an Expence, it was amazing to see *Bridges* so naked: and that was more surprizing in some places, where the *Bridges* are both high and long: yet

I never heard of any mischief that followed on this ; but those are sober *Countries*, where drinking is not much in use. After two days journey, we came to *Coire*, which is the chief *Town* of the *Grisons*, and where we found a general *Diet* of the *three Leagues* sitting, so that having staid ten days there, I came to be informed of a great many particulars concerning those *Leagues*, which are not commonly known: The *Town* is but little, and may contain between four and five thousand Souls ; it lies in a bottom, upon a small Brook, that a little below the *Town* falls into the *Rhine*. It is environed with *Mountains* of all hands, so that they have a very short *Summer* ; for the *Snow* is not melted till *May* or *June* ; and it began to *Snow* in *September* when I was there. On a rising ground at the East End of the *Town* is the *Cathedral*, the *Bishop Palace*, and the *Cloise*, where the *Dean* and six *Prebendaries* live ; all within the *Cloise* are *Papists*, but all the *Town* are *Protestants*, and they live pretty neighbourly together. Above a quarter of a mile high in the Hill, one goes up by a steep ascent to *Saint Lucius Chappel* ; My Curiosity carried me thither : Though I gave no faith to the Legend of *King Lucius*, and of his coming so far from home to be the *Apostle* of the *Grisons*. His *Chappel* is a little Vault about ten foot square, where there is an *Altar*, and where *Mass* is said upon some great *Festivals* ; it is situated under a natural *Arch* that is in the *Rock*, which was thought proper to be

be given out to have been the *Cell* of a *Hermit*: from it some drops of a small *Fountain* fall down near the Chappel; the *Bishop* assured me it had a miraculous vertue for Weak-eyes, and that it was Oily; but neither taste nor feeling could discover to me any Oilyness: I believe it may be very good for the Eyes, as all Rock-Water is; but when I offered to shew the good Old *Bishop*, that the Legend of *Lucius* was a *Fable* in all the parts of it, but most remarkably in that which related to the *Grisons*, and that we had no *Kings* in *Britain* at that time, but were a *Province* to the *Romans*, that no Ancient *Authors* speak of it, *Bede* being the first that mentions it; and that the pretended *Letter* to *Pope Eleutherius*, together with this Answer, has evident Characters of Forgery in it, all this signified nothing to the *Bishop*, who assured me, that they had a *Tradition* of that in their *Church*; and it was inserted in their *Breviary*, which he firmly believed: he also told me the other legend of *King Lucius's* Sister *S. Emerita*, who was burnt there, and of whose *Veil* there was yet a considerable remnant reserved among their *Reliques*: I confess, I never saw a *Relique* so ill disguised; for it is a peice of worn Linnen Cloath lately washt, and the burning did not seem to be a Month Old; and yet when they took it out of the Case, to shew it me, there were some there that with great Devotion rub'd their Beads upon it. The *Bishop* had some Contests with his *Dean*, and being a  
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Prince of the Empire, he had prescribed him : the *Dean* had also behaved himself so insolently, that by an order of the *Diet*, to which even the *Bishop*, as was believed, consented, he was put in Prison as he came out of the Cathedral. By the common consent both of the *Popish* and *Protestant* Communities, a *Law* was long ago made against *Ecclesiastical Immunities* : this attempt on the *Dean* was made four years ago ; as soon as he was let out he went to *Rome*, and made great complaints of the *Bishop*, and it was thought the *Popish party* intended to move in the *Diet* while we were there for the repealing of that *Law*, but they did it not. The foundation of the Quarrel between the *Bishop* and *Dean* was the *Exemptions* to which the *Dean* and *Chapter* pretended, and upon which the *Bishop* made some Invasion : Upon which I took occasion to shew him the Novelty of those *Exemptions*, and that in the primitive *Church* it was believed, that the *Bishop* had the Authority over his *Presbyters* by a Divine Right ; and if it was by a Divine Right, then the *Pope* could not exempt them from his obedience : but the *Bishop* would not carry the matter so high, and contented himself with two *Maxims* ; the one was, That the *Bishop* was Christ's *Vicar* in his *Diocese* ; and the other was, That what the *Pope* was in the *Catholic Church*, the *Bishop* was the same in his *Diocese*.

He was a good-natured Man, and did not make use of the great Authority that he has  
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over the *Papists* there, to set them on to live uneasily with their Neighbours of another *Religion*. That *Bishop* was anciently a great Prince; and the greatest part of the *League*, that carries still the Name of the *House of God*, belonged to him, though I was assured that *Pregallia*, one of those *Communities*, was a *free State* above six hundred years ago, and that they have Records yet extant that prove this: The other *Communities* of this *League* bought their Liberties from several *Bishops* some considerable time before the *Reformation*, of which the *Deeds* are yet extant; so that it is an impudent thing to say as some have done, that they shook off his Yoke at that time.

The *Bishop* hath yet reserved a *Revenue* of about one thousand pound *Starling* a Year, and every one of the *Prebendaries* hath near two hundred pound a Year. It is not easie to imagin out of what the Riches of this *Country* is raised; for one sees nothing but a tract of vast *Mountains*, that seem barren *Rocks*, and some little *Vallies* among them not a mile broad, and the best part of these is washed away by the *Rhine*, and some Brooks that fall into it: but their Wealth consists chiefly in their Hills, which afford much Pasture; and in the hot Months, in which all the Pasture of *Italy* is generally parched, the Cattle are driven into these Hills, which brings them in a Revenue of above two hundred thousand *Crowns* a Year. The Publick is indeed very poor, but particular Persons are so rich, that I knew a  
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great many there, who were believed to have *Estates* to the value of one *hundred thousand Crowns*. Mr. *Schövestein*, that is accounted the richest man in the Country, is believed to be worth a *Million*, I mean of *Livres*. The Government here is purely a *Commonwealth*; for in the Choice of their *Magistrates*, every man that is above sixteen *Years* old hath his *Voice*, which is also the constitution of some of the small *Cantons*. The *Three Leagues* are, the League of the *Grisons*, that of the *House of God*, and that of the ten *Jurisdictions*.

They believe, that upon the *Inursions* of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, as some fled to the *Venetian Islands*, out of which arose that famous *Commonwealth*; so others came and sheltered themselves in those *Valleys*. They told me of an ancient *Inscription* lately found, of a *Stone*, where on the one side is graven, *Omitto Rheto Indometos*, and *ne plus ultra* is on the other; which they pretend was made by *Julius Caesar*: the *Stone* on which this *Inscription* is, is upon one of their *Mountains*; but I did not pass that way, so I can make no judgment concerning it. After the first forming of this *People*, they were cast into little *States*, according to the different *Valleys* which they inhabited, and in which Justice was administered, and so they fell under the power of some little *Princes*, that became severe *Masters*; but when they saw the *Example* that the *Switzers* had set them,

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in shaking off the *Austrian* Yoke, above two hundred years ago, they likewise combined to shake off theirs; only some few of those small *Princes* used their Authority better, and concurred with the people in shaking off the Yoke, and so they are still parts of the Body; only *Haldenstein* is an absolute Sovereignty; it is about two miles from *Coire* to the West, on the other side of the *Rhine*; the whole Territory is about half a mile long at the foot of the *Alps*, where there is scarce any breadth. The Authority of these *Barons* was formerly more absolute than it is now; for the Subjects were their Slaves: but to keep together to little *Village*, they have granted them a Power of naming a List for their *Magistrates*, the Person being to be named by the *Baron*: who hath also the Right of Pardoning, a Right of Coyning, and every thing also that belongs to a Sovereign. I saw this little *Prince* in *Coire*, in an Equipage not suitable to his Quality; for he was in all points like a very ordinary Gentleman. There are three other *Baronies* that are Members of the *Diet*, and subject to it; the chief belonged to the *Arch-Dukes* of *Inshpruck*; the other two belong to Mr. *Schovenstein* and Mr. *de Mont*, they are the Heads of those *Communities* of which their *Baronies* are composed; they name the *Magistrates* out of the Lists that are presented to them by their *Subjects*; and they have the right of pardoning, and of Confiscations: That belonging to the House of *Austria*

*stria* is the biggest, it hath *five* Voices in the *Diet*, and it can raise twelve *hundred* Men. One *Travers* brought it of the *Emperor* in the year 1679, he entered upon the Rights of the ancient *Barons*, which were specified in an agreement that past between him and his *Peasants*, and was confirmed by the *Emperour*. *Travers* made many Incroachments upon the Priviledges of his *Subjects*, who upon that made their Complaints to the *League*; but *Travers* would have the mattes judged at *Inchpruck*, and the *Emperor* supported him in this Pretension, and sent an *Agent* to the *Diet*: I was present, when he had his *Audience*, in which there was nothing but *General Complements*: But the *Diet* stood firm to their Constitution, and asserted, that the *Emperour* had no Authority to judge in that Matter, which belonged only to them; so *Travers* was forced to let his Pretentions fall.

All the other Parts of this *State* are purely *Democratical*; there are *three* different *Bodies* or *Leagues*; and every one of these are an intire *Government*; and the Assembly or *Diet* of the *Three Leagues*, in only a *Confederacy*, like the *United Provinces*, or the *Cantons*: There are *sixty-seven* Voices in the General *Diet*, which are thus divided: The *League* of the *Grisons* hath *twenty eight* Voices, that of the *House of God* hath *twenty four*, and that of the *Jurisdictions* hath *fifteen*. The *Jurisdictions* belonged anciently to the *House of Austria*: but they having shaken off that Authority,

thority, were incorporated into the *Diet*: but in the last Wars of *Germany*, the *Austrians* thought to have brought them again under their Yoke, yet they defended their Liberty with so much Vigour, that the *Austrians* it seems thought the Conquest not worth the while, and that it would not quit the Cost. They were affrighted by two extraordinary Actions; in one *Village*, which was quite abandoned by all the *Men* belonging to it, who left the *Women* in it, some hundreds, as I was told, there quartered, and were apprehensive of no danger from their *Hofstesses*; but the *Women* intended to let their Husbands see, that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold Action; though it must be confessed, it was a little too rough and Barbarous for the Sex: They entered into a Combination to cut the Throats of all the *Souldiers* at one time; the *Woman* that proposed this, had four lodged with her, and she with her own Hands dispatcht them all, and so did all the rest, not one *Souldier* escaping to carry away the News of so unheard of a Rage. In another Place, a Body of the *Austrians* came into a *Valley*, that was quite abandoned; for the *Men* that had no *Arms* but their *Clubs* and *Staves*, had got up to the *Mountains*; but they took their Measures so well, and possessed themselves so of the *Passes*, that they came down upon the *Souldiers* with so much Fury, that they defeated them quite, so that very few escaped; and it is certain, that the Subduing them would have

have proved a very hard Work. It is true, they are not in a Condition to hold out long, the Publick is so poor; so that though particular Persons are extream rich, yet they have no publick Revenue, but every Man is concerned to preserve his Liberty, which is more intire here, than it is even in *Switzerland*: but this swells often too much, and throws them into great Convulsions. The *League* of the *Grisons* is the first and most ancient, and it is composed of eight and twenty *Communities*, of which there are eighteen *Papists*, and the rest are *Protestants*; the *Communities* of the two *Religions* live neighbourly together, yet they do not suffer those of another *Religion* to live among them, so that every *Community* is entirely of the same *Religion*; and if any one changes, he must go into another *Community*. Each *Community* is an intire *State* within it self, and all Persons must meet once a year to chuse the *Judge* and his *Assistants*, whom they change, or continue from year to year, as they see cause: There is no difference made between *Gentleman* and *Peasant*, and the *Tenant* hath a *Vote* as well as his *Landlord*, nor dare his *Landlord* use him ill when he votes contrary to his intentions; for the *Peasants* would look upon that as a common Quarrel. An appeal lies from the *Judge* of the *Community*, to the *Assembly* of the *League*, where all matters end; for there lies no appeal to the general *Diet* of the *three Leagues*, except in matters that concern the conquered

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*Counries,*



*Countries*, which belong in common to all the *stree*. There is one chosen by the *Deputies* for the *Assembly* of the *League*, who is called the *Head of the League*, that can call them together as he sees cause, and can likewise bring a cause that hath been once judged to a second hearing. *Ilants* is the *Chief Town* of this *League*, where their *Diet* meets. The second *League* is that of the *House of God*, in which there are four and twenty *Communities*; the *Burgomaster* of *Coire* is always the *Head* of this *League*: This *League* is almost wholly *Protestant*, and the *two Valleys* of the *Upper* and *Lower Engedin* are pointed out by the *Papists*, as little less than *Cannibals* towards such *Catholicks* as come among them; but *Fryer Sfondrato*, Nephew to *Pope Gregory* the fourteenth, whose Mother the *Marquess of Bergominiero*, that was in *England*, hath married, found the contrary of all this to be true to his great regret. About eighteen years ago he was believed to have wrought *Miracles*, he became so much in love with the *Crown of Martyrdom*, that he went through the *Engedin*, not doubting but he would find there that which he desired. His *Brother* had come sometime before into the *Country* to drink *Mineral Waters*, and was well known to the *Gentry*, so some of these hearing of the *Fryer's* coming, went and waited on him, and he was entertained by them in their *Houses*, and conveyed through the *Country*, though he took all possible ways to provoke them; for he was often railing at their

*Religion*

*Religion*, but to all that they made no answer, only they continued their Civilities still, which did so inrage the warm *Fryer*, that he went to *Bormio*, and there (as was believed) he Died of Grief. An Accident fell out *five years* ago, that the People of the Country esteemed a sort of a Miracle. The *Papists* in their *Processions* go sometimes out of one *Community* into another, and when they pass through *Protestant Communities*, they lower the *Cross*, and give over singing till they are again upon *Papish* ground: but then they went on bearing up the *Cross*, and singing as they went, upon which the *Protestants* stopt them, and would not suffer them to go on in that manner: they finding that they were not equal in number to the *Protestants*, sent to a *Catholick Community*, and desired them to come to their Assistance: *Two thousand* came, and by all appearance the Dispute would have had a bloody Issue: for the *Protestants* were resolved to maintain the Rights of their *Community*, and the others were no less resolved to force their Way: but an extraordinary thick mist arose, and through it, the *Papists* fancied they saw a vast Body of Men, which was no other than a Wood: but terrified with the Appearance of such a number, they retired, and this saved a little Battel, that probably would not only have ended in the shedding much blood, but might have very much disordered the whole Constitution and Union of their *Leagues*. The *Papists* of quality

endeavour much to keep their People in order ; but they acknowledged to my self, that the *Protestants* were much peaceabler than the *Catholicks*. The *Jurisdictions* have fifteen Votes in the General Diet, yet they are generally called the *ten Jurisdictions*, and the greater part of them are likewise of the *Religion* ; for upon the general Computation of the *three Leagues*, the *Protestants* are about two thirds. In their *Diets* there are *three Tables*, one in the middle, and two on either side ; at every *Table* sits the *Head* of the *League*, and a *Secretary* near him ; and from the *Table* there goes down Benches on both Hands for the *Deputies* from the *Communities* of that *League* : They hold their *Diets* by turns in the Chief *Towns* of the several *Leagues*, and it hapned to be the turn of the *House of God*, when I was there ; so they met at *Coire*.

The *three Leagues* have a conquered Country in *Italy*, divided into three *Districts*, the *Valtelline*, *Chavennes* and *Bormio*. When *John Galeasse* possessed himself of the *Dutchy of Milan*, and drove out *Barnabas*, *Mastinus* one of *Barnabas's* Sons, to whom his Father had given those three Branches of the *Dutchy of Milan*, retired to *Coire*, and being hospitably received and entertained by the *Bishop*, when he died, he gave his Right to those *Territories* to the *Cathedral of Coire* : but here was a Title without a force able to make it good. But when the *Wars of Italy* were on Foot, the *three Leagues* being much courted by both  
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the *Crowns*, since they were Masters of the *Passes* by which either the *Switzers* or *Germans* could come into *Italy*, they resolved to lay hold on that Opportunity : yet they had not Zeal enough for their *Bishop*, to ingage deep upon his Account, so they agreed with him to pay him such a Revenue, and he transferred his Title to them, and they were so considerable to the *Spaniards*, that without much ado, they yielded those Parcels of the *Dutchy of Milan* to them, and by this means they are possessed of them. Those Accessions to this *State* are much better than the principal ; for as certainly the *Valtelline*, which is above forty Miles long, and two broad, is one of the *richest Valleys* in the World, in which there are three Harvests some years ; so the *Chavennes* and *Bormio* are much preferable to the best *Valleys* of the *Grisons* ; yet the ingagement that People have to their native Homes appears signally here, since the *Grisons* have not forsaken their Country, that they might situate themselves so advantageously : but they love their rugged *Valleys*, and think the safety they enjoy in them beyond the pleasures of their acquired Dominions ; so they govern them by *Bailifs* and *Podestà's*, and other Officers whom they send among them ; and all the advantages that they draw from them, is that the *Magistrates* whom they send to govern them, do enrich themselves, as the *Bailifs* in *Switzerland* do. All those *Offices* go round the several *Communities*, who have the right of no-

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mination.

mination in their turn : But if there is none of the *Community* proper for the Employment, any one of another *Community* may buy of them the Nomination for that turn, and the *Community* distribute among them the Money that he gives them. The publick draws nothing out of those parts, except the Fines, which in some years amounts to no considerable sum ; and ten or twelve thousand *Crowns* is thought a great deal to be raised out of them in a *year* ; so that their *Subjects* live happy, and free of all *Taxes*, which made their last Revolt appear the more extraordinary ; and it was indeed the affect of a very surprising Bigotry, when a People under the gentlest yoke in the World, who had no other Grievance, but that now and then their *Magistrates* were of another *Religion*, and that the *Protestant Religion* was tolerated amongst them, would therefore throw off their *Masters*, cut the Throats of their Neighbours, and cast themselves into the hands of the *Spaniards*, who are the terriblest Masters in the World.

But to give a more particular Relation of that matter, and to tell the Circumstances which seem a little to lessen that *Rebellion* and *Masacre*, I must give an Account of a part of this Constitution that is very Terrible, and which makes the greatest Men in it to tremble : The *Peasants* come sometimes in great Bodies, and demand a *Chamber of Justice* from the general Diet, and they are bound to grant it always when

when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty years; commonly this Tumult of the *Peasants* is set on by some of the Male-contented *Gentry*, and generally there are a great many Sacrifices made. This *Court* is composed of *ten Judges* out of every *League*, and *twenty Advocates*, who manage such Accusations as are presented to them; this *Court* is paramount to *Law*, and Acts like a Court of *Inquisition*; they give the *Question*, and do every thing that they think necessary, to discover the Truth of such Accusations as are presented to them; and the Decisions of this *Court* can never be brought under a second Review, though there is an exception to this; for about a hundred years ago, one *Court of Justice* reversed all that another had done; but that is a single instance. The *Peasants* are in as great a jealousy of the *Spaniards*, as the *Switzers* are of the *French*, and the good Men among them are extream sensible of a great Dissolution of Morals, that the *Spanish* service brings among them: For there is a *Grison Regiment* kept still in pay by the *Spaniards*, there are in twelve *Companies* of fifty a piece, and the *Captains* have a thousand *Crowns* pay, though they are not obliged to attend upon the Service: This is upon the matter a Pension paid under a more decent name to the most considerable Men of the Country; and this is shared among them without any distinction of *Protestant* and *Papist*, and is believed to sway their *Councils*



much. The *Peasants* are apt to take fire, and and to believe they are betrayed by those *Pensioners* of *Spain*; and when Rumors are blown about among them, they come in great numbers to demand a *Chamber of Justice*; the common *Question* that that they give, which is also used all *Switzerland* over, and in *Geneva*, is, that they tye the *Hands* of the suspected Persons behind his back, and pull them up to his *Head*, and so draw them about, by which the Arms and chiefly the Shoulder-blades are disjoynted; and when a Person put to the *Question* confesses his Crime, and is upon that condemned to dye, he is obliged to renew his Confession upon *Oath* at the Place of Execution; and; and if he goes off from it then, and saith, *That his Confession was extorted by the Violence of the Torture*, he is put again to the *Question*: for this passes for a Maxim, *That no Man must dye unless he confesseth himself guilty*: Generally when the fury of demanding this *Chamber* is spread among the People, the *Gentry* run away, and leave the whole matter in the Power of the *Peasants*; for they know not where it will end, and so the *Peasants* being named to be *Judges*, the Justice goes quick, till some Sacrifices appease the Rage. Two Year ago, upon the sale of a *Common* to the *Bishop* of *Como*, to which he had an ancient pretension, the *Peasants* having no more the liberty of the *Common*, were enraged at their *Magistrates*, and a Report was spread abroad, of which

which the first Author could never be discovered, *that the Spaniard had sent a hundred thousand Crowns among them to corrupt all their Magistrates*; upon this they were so set on fire, that it was generally thought there would have been many Sacrifices made to this fury: but the Gentry hapned to be then so much united, that there was none of them ingaged among the *Peasants*, or that managed their *Rage*: a *Chamber of Justice* was granted, but the matter was so ordered, that it did not appear that any one was guilty; yet some that had dealt in that transaction were fined, not so much for any fault of theirs, as to raise a fund to pay the Expences of the Chamber; and because they could not find colour enough to raise so much out of the Fines, there was a fine of five hundred *Livers* laid on every one of the *Spanish Companies*. I hope this digression will not appear tedious to you; and the rather because you will soon see that it was a little necessary to open the matter of the *Rebellion and Massacre in the Valteline*.

In the Year 1618, there was a Report set about, *That the Spaniards had a Treaty on foot to tear away the Valteline from the Leagues*: this was supported by the *Fort Fuentes*, that the Governour of Milan was building upon the *Lake of Como*; near the *Valteline* there was one *Ganatz* a Minister, but a bloody and Perfidious Man, that set on and managed the rage of the *Peasants*, and there was great reason to suspect some under-

hand dealing, though he threw it which way he pleased. A *Chamber of Justice* was appointed to sit at *Tossane*, which is a considerable *Town* twelve miles from *Coire*, on the way to *Italy*, near *Alta Rhetia*, which is a high and small Hill, to which there is no access but on one side, where there are yet the Ruins of a *Castle* and a *Church*, and which they believe was the Palace of *Rhetus*, the first *Prince* of the *Country*: There was severe Justice done in this *Chamber*, a *Priest* was put to the *Question*, and so ill used that he dyed in it, which is a crying thing among them. The chief suspicion lay upon one *Pianta*, who being one of the best Families of the *Grisons*, was then one of the *Captains* in the *Spanish* Regiment; he withdrew himself from the Storm, but the *Peasants* led on by *Ganatz* pursued him so, that at last they found him, and hewed him in pieces, *Ganatz* himself striking the first stroke with an *Ax*, which was taken up and preserved by his Friends; and four and twenty years after, fifty or sixty of his Friends fell upon *Ganatz* in *Coire*, and killed him with the same *Ax*, which they brought along with them, that they might execute their design by the same Tool with which their Friend was Murthered. *Ganatz* had during the *Wars* abandoned both his *Religion* and *Profession*, being indeed a disgrace to both, and had served first in the *Venetian*, and then in the *Spanish* Troops: After the peace was made, he became so considerable, being supported

ported by the *Spanish* Faction, that he was chosen *Governour* of *Chavennes*, and was come over to *Coire* to a *Diet*, he being then in so important a charge: but he was so much hated, that though the Murthering of a *Magistrate* in Office, and at a publick *Assembly* in so terrible a manner, ought to have been severely punished, yet no inquiry was made into the Crime, nor was any Man so much as questioned for it. In that *Chamber* many that were put to the *Question*, confessed enough to hang them, some indured the *Question*, and escaped with the loss of the use of their Arms. Those of the *Valtelline* have made use of this severity, as that which gave the rise to the *Massacre*, and it is very probable, this might have drawn in some, that would have been otherwise more moderate, and that it did likewise precipitate that Barbarous Action: yet it was afterwards found out, that the *Plot* had been formed long before, so that the Industry and Rage of the *Priests*, managed by *Spanish* Emissaries, working upon the bigotry of the *People*, was the Real Cause, and this was only made use of as a pretext to give some more plausible colours to the *Massacre*, which was executed some Months after this *Chamber* was dissolved. It began while the *Protestants* were at *Church*; there were some *hundreds* destroyed, the rest got all up to the *Mountains*, and so escaped into the Country of the *Grisons*, and those of *Chavennes* got likewise up to the *Hills*;  
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for they are situated just at the bottom of them.

I shall not prosecute the rest of that War; the French saw of what Advantage it was to them, not to let this *pass* from Italy into Germany fall into the Hands of the Spaniards; so Bassompierre was sent to Madrid, and obtained a promise, that all things should be put in the same state in which they were before the year 1618; but when that Order was sent to the Governour of Milan, it was plain he had secret Orders to the contrary; for he refused to execute it: so a War followed, in which the Grisons found it was not easy for them to support the charge of it, without imploying the Assistance of the French. But the Spaniards pretended to have no other Interest in the affairs of the Valteline, than the preservation of the Catholick Religion; and to shew their sincerity, they put the Country into the Popes Hands, knowing that he could not preserve it but by their Assistance, nor restore it without securing it from all change of Religion. The French willingly undertook the cause of the Grisons, and and because the Duke of Rohan was like to be the most favourable General, as being of the Religion, he was sent to command some forces that marched thither: But he saw, that if the French once made themselves Masters of the Passes of the Country, it would turn to their Ruin; and finding the Grisons reposed an intire confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him

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to be an Instrument in that which he saw must be fatal to them. The *Spaniards* seeing the *French* ingage in the Quarrel, and fearing lest they should possess themselves of the *Passes*; offered to restore all the *Territory* in *Italy*; for *Chavennes* and *Bormio* had likewise revolted, only the *Protestants* got away so quick upon the disorders in the *Valteline*, that they prevented the Rage of the *Priests*. The *Spaniards* ask'd these Conditions, that an *Amnesty* should be granted for what was past; that there should be no Exercise of the *Protestant Religion* tolerated in the Country, and that even the *Bailiffs* and other *Magistrates* of the *Religion*, that came to be sent into the *Valteline*, should have no Exercise of their *Religion*; and as for other Persons, that none of the *Religion* might stay above *six Weeks* at a time in the Country. The *Duke of Rohan* seeing that Conditions of so much Advantage to the *Leagues* were offered to them, did underhand advise those of the *Religion* to accept of them, at the same time that he seemed openly to oppose the Treaty set on foot on those Terms, and that he might get out of this Employment with the less dishonour, he advised their clapping him up in *Prison* till they had finished their Treaty with the *Spaniards*. So that they very gratefully to this day own, that they owe the Preservation of their Country to the wise Advices of that great Man. Many that were of the *Religion* returned to their Houses and Estates, but the



the greatest part fearing such another *Massacre* have since changed their *Religion*, others have sold their *Estates*, and left the *Country*; some stay still, and go two or three hours journey to some of the *Protestant Communities*, where they have the Exercise of the *Religion*: And though they may not stay in the *Valtelline* above *six weeks* at a time, yet they avoid that by going for a day or two out of the *Country* once within that time; nor is that matter at present so severely examined, so that there is a calm among them as to those matters. But when it comes to the turn of the *Protestant Communities* to send one of the *Religion* to those employments, he is often much embarrassed by the *Bishop* of *Como*, to whose *Diocefs* those *Territories* belong; for if the *Bishop* fancies, that they do any thing contrary to the *Ecclesiastical immunities*, he *Excommunicates* them; and though this may appear a ridiculous thing, since they are already in a worse state by being *Heretics*, yet it produces a very sensible effect; for the people that are extremely superstitious, will not after that come near such *Magistrates*; so that about three year ago a *Bailif* found himself obliged to desire to be recalled, though his time was not out, since being *excommunicated*, he could no longer maintain the *Government* in his own person.

Among the *Grisons* the *Roman Law* prevails, modified a little by their *Customs*: one that was a little particular, was executed when I was there.

there. A Man that hath an Estate by his *Wife*, enjoys it after her death, as long as he continues a *Widower*; but when he *Marries* again, he is bound to divide it among the *Children* that he had by her. The *Justice* is short and simple, but it is oft thought that bribes go here, though but meanly in proportion to their poverty, as well as in other places. The *Married Women* here do scarce appear abroad, except at *Church*; but the *Young Women* have more Liberty before they are *Married*. There is such a plenty of all things, by reason of the *Gentleness* of the *Government*, and the *Industry* of the *People*, that in all the *ten days*, in which I stayed at *Coire*, I was but once askt an *Alms* in the *Streets*. There are *two Churches* in *Coire*; in the one there is an *Organ*, that joyns with their *Voices* in the singing of the *Psalms*; and there was for the Honour of the *Diet*, while we were there, an *Anthem* sung by a set of *Musicians* very regularly. In all the *Churches* both of *Switzerland* and the *Grisons*, except in this only, the *Minister* preaches covered; but here he is bare-headed. And I observed a particular Devotion used here in saying of the *Lords Prayer*, that the *Ministers* who wear *Caps*, put them off when this was said. The *Women* here as in *Bern*, turn all to the *East* in time of *Prayer*, and also in their private Devotions, before and after the *public Prayers*: many also bow at the Name of *Jesus*: They *Christen* discovering the whole Head, and pouring the *Water* on the Hind-

Hind-head, using a Trine asperſion, which is alſo the Practice of the *Switzers*. It was matter of much edification, to ſee the great numbers both here and all *Switzerland* over, that come every day to Prayers Morning and Evening. They give here in the middle of the prayer a good interval of Silence for the private Devotions of the Aſſembly. The *Schools* here go not above *Latin*, Greek and *Logick*; and for the reſt, they ſend their Children to *Zurich* or *Baſil*. The *Clergy* here are very meanly provided; for moſt part they have nothing but the Benevolence of their people: they complained much to me of a great Coldneſs in their People in the matters of *Religion*, and of a great Corruption in their Morals: The *Commons* are extream insolent, and many Crimes go unpuniſhed, if the Perſons that Commit them have either great Credit, or much Money. The poor *Minifters* here are under a terrible ſlavery; for the *Griſons* pretend, that in all times they had not only the *Patronage* of their *Churches*, but a power to diſmiſs their *Church-men* as they ſaw cauſe: How it is among the *Papiſts*, I cannot tell; but the *Dean* of the *Synod* of the *House of God* told me, they had an ill Cuſtom of *Ordaining* their *Minifters* without a Title, upon an Examination of their Qualifications and Abilities, which took them up generally fix or ſeven hours, and when this Tryal was thus diſpatched, if the Perſon was found qualified, they *ordained* him; and it was too ordinary for thoſe that were thus

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Ordained, to endeavour to undermine the *Ministers* already in imployment, if their People grew disgusted at them, or as they became disabled by Age; and often the Interest and Kinred of the Intruder carried the matter against the incumbent, without any colour a pretence; and in that case the *Synod* was bound to receive the Intruder. In one half of the Conntry they Preach in *High Dutch*, and in other half in a corrupt *Italian*, which they call *Romanish*, that is, a mixture of *French* and *Italian*. In every *League* they have a *Synod*; and as the people chuse their *Ministers*, so in imitation of the *Switzers*, every *Synod* chuses their *Antistes* or Superintendant; he is called the *Dean* among the *Grisons*, and hath a sort of an Episcopal Power; but he is accountable to the *Synod*: The Office is for life; but the *Synod* upon great cause given, may make a change. The people of this Country are much more lively than the *Switzers*, and they begin to have some tincture of the *Italian* temper. They are extream civil to *Strangers*; but it seems in all Commonwealths *Inn-keepers* think they have a right to exact upon *Strangers*, which one finds here, as well as in *Holland*, or in *Switzerland*.

I shall conclude what I have to say concerning the *Grisons* with a very extraordinary Story, which I had both from the *Ministers* of *Coire*, and several other *Gentlemen*, that saw in *April* 1685. about five hundred Persons of different Sexes and Ages, that past through the *Town*, who gave  
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this account of themselves. They were the *Inhabitants* of a *Valley* in *Tirol*, belonging for the greatest part to the *Arch-bishoprick* of *Salzburg*, but some of them were in the *Diocesses* of *Trent* and *Bresse*; they seemed to be a remnant of the old *Waldenses*; they worshipped neither *Images* nor *Saints*; and they believed the *Sacrament* was only a *Commemoration* of the *Death* of *Christ*: and in many other *Points* they had their peculiar *Opinions*, different from those of the *Church* of *Rome*; they knew nothing neither of *Lutherans* nor *Calvinists*; and the *Grisons*, though their *Neighbours*, had never heard of this *Nearness* of theirs to the *Protestant Religion*. They had *Mass* said among them; but some years since some of the *Valley* going over *Germany* to earn somewhat by their labour, hapned to go into the *Palatinate*, where they were better instructed in matters of *Religion*, and these brought back with them into the *Valley* the *Heidelberg Catechism*, together with some other *German Books*, which ran over the *Valley*; and they being before that in a good disposition, those *Books* had such an effect upon them, that they gave over going to *Mass* any more, and began to worship *God* in a way more suitable to the *Rules* set down in *Scripture*: some of their *Priests* concurred with them in this happy *Change*; but others, that adhered still to the *Mass*, went and gave the *Arch-bishop* of *Salzburg* an account of it; upon which he sent some into the *Country* to examin the *Truth* of the *Matter*,

to exhort them to return to *Maff*; and to threaten them with all severity, if they continued obstinate: so they seeing a terrible Storm ready to break upon them, resolved to Abandon their Houses, and all they had, rather than sin against their Consciences: And the whole *Inhabitants of the Valley*, Old and Young, Men and Women, to the number of *two thousand*, divided themselves into several Bodies; some intended to go to *Brandenburgh*, others to the *Palatinate*, and about *five hundred* took the way of *Coire*, intending to disperse themselves in *Switzerland*. The *Ministers* told me, they were much edified with their Simplicity, and Modesty; for a Collection being made for them, they desired only a little bread to carry them on their way. From *Coire* we went to *Tossane*, and from that, through the way that is justly called *Via Mala*. It is through a bottom between two *Rocks*, through which the *Rhine* runs, but under ground for a great part of the way: The way is cut out in the middle of the *Rock* in some places, and in several places the steepness of the *Rock* being such, that a way could not be cut out, there are Beams driven into it, over which Boards and Earth are laid; this way holds an hour: After that, there is for two hours good way, and we past through two considerable *Villages*; there is good lodging in both: from thence there is, for two hours Journey terrible Way, almost as bad as the *Via Mala*; then an hours Journey good way to *Splugen*; which



which is a large *Village* of above *two hundred* Houses, that are well built, and the *Inhabitants* seem all to live at their ease, though they have no sort of soil but a little Meadow ground about them; This is the last *Protestant Church* that was in our way; it was well indowed; for the Provision of the *Minister* was near two hundred *Crowns*: Those of this *Village* are the *Carriers* between *Italy* and *Germany*, so they drive a great Trade; for there is here a perpetual *Carriage* going and coming; and we were told, that there pass generally a *hundred Horses* through this *Town*, one day with another; and there are above five *hundred Carriage Horses* that belong to this *Town*. From this place we went mounting for three hours, till we got to the top of the *Hills*, where there is only one great *Inn*. After that the way was tolerably good for two hours; and for two hours there is constant descent, which for the most part is as steep as if we were all the while going down stairs: At the foot of, this is a little *Village*, called *Campdolein*, and here we found we were in *Italy*, both by the vast difference of the *Climate*; for whereas we were *freezing* on the other side, the heat of the *Sun* was uneasy here, and also by the number of the *Beggars*, though it may seem the reverse of what one ought to expect, since the *richest Country* of *Europe*, is full of *Beggars*; and the *Grisons*, that are one of the *poorest States*, have no *Beggars* at all. One thing is also strange, that among the *Grisons*, the rich Wine of the *Valteline*, after it is carried

carried three Days Journey, is sold cheaper than then the Wine of other Countries, where it grows at the door: but there are no *Taxes* nor *Impositions* here. From *Campdolein* there is three Hours Journey to *Chavennes*, all in a Slow descent, and in some Places the Way is extream rugged and stony *Chavennes* is very pleasantly scituated at the very Foot of the *Mountains*; there runs through the *Town* a pleasant little River: It is Nobly Built, and hath a great many Rich *Vineyards* about it: and the Rebound of the Sun-beams from the *Mountains*, doth so increase the heats here, that the Soil is as Rich here, as in any Place of *Italy*. Here one begins to see a Noble *Architecture* in a great many Houses; in short, all the Marks of a rich Soil, and a free *Government* appear here. The *Town* stood a little more to the North, about five hundred years ago, but a *Slice* of the *Alps* came down upon it, and buried it quite; and at the Upper-end of the *Town* there are some *Rocks* that look like *Ruins*, about which there hath been a very extraordinary Expence, to divide them one from another, and to make them fit Places for *Forts* and *Castles*: the Marks of the Tools appeared all over the *Rock* in one place. I measured the Breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty Foot, the Length is four hundred and fifty Foot, and as we could guess, the *Rock* was two hundred Foot high, cut down on both sides in a Line as even as a Wall; towards the top of one, the name *Salvius* is cut in

in great Letters, a little *Gotbick*. On the *Tops* of those *Rocks*, which are inaccessible, except on the one side, and to that the Ascent is extream uneasy, they had *Garrisons* during the *Wars* of *Valteline*: there were fifteen hundred in *Garrison* in that which is in the middle: There falls down frequently *Slices* from the *Hills*, that do extreamly fatten the Ground which they cover, so that it becomes fruitful beyond expression: and I saw a *Lime Tree*, that was planted eight and thirty years ago, in a piece of Ground, which had been so covered, that was two Fathom and a half of Compass. On both sides of the *River*, the *Town*, and the *Gardens* belonging to it, cover the whole Bottom, that lies between the *Hills*, and at the Roots of the *Mountains* they dig great *Cellars*, and *Grottoes*, and strike a *hole* about a foot square, ten or twelve foot into the *Hill*, which all the Summer long blows a fresh Air into the *Cellar*; so that the *Wine* of those *Cellars* drinks almost as cold as if it were in *Ice*; but this Wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the end of *September*: For the Sun opening the Pores of the Earth, and rarifying the exterior Air, that which is compressed within the cavities that are in the *Mountains*, rushes out with a constant Wind; but when the operation of the Sun is weakned, this course of the Air is less sensible. Before or over those *Vaults* they build little pleasant Rooms like *Summerhouses*, and in them they go to Collation generally at Night in *Summer*. I never

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saw bigger *Grapes* than grow there ; there is one sort bigger than the biggest *Damascene Plums* that we have in *England*.

There is a sort of *Wine* here and in the *Valtelline*, which I never heard named any where else, that is called *Aromatick-wine*, and as the taste makes one think it must be a composition (for it tastes like a *Strong-water* drawn of *Spices*) so its strength being equal to a weak *Brandy*, disposes one to believe that it cannot be a Natural *Wine*, and yet it is the pure juice of the *Grape*, without any mixture. The *Liquor* being singular, I informed my self particularly of the way of preparing it: the *Grapes* are red, though it drinks white; they let the *Grapes* hang on the *Vines* till *November*, that they are extream ripe, then they carry them to their *Garrets*, and set them all upright on their ends by one another for two or three months, then they pick all the *Grapes*, and throw away those in which there is the least appearance of rottenness, so that they press none but sound *Grapes*: after they are pressed, they put the *Liquor* in an open *Vessel*, in which it throws up a scum, which they take off twice a day, and when no more scum comes up, which according to the difference of the Season is sooner or later (for sometimes the scum comes no more after eight days, and at other times it continues a fortnight) then they put it in a close *Vessel*; for the first year it is extream sweet and luscious, but at the End of the year, they pierce

it a little higher than the middle of the Vessel, almost two thirds from the Bottom, and drink it off till it cometh so low, and then every year they fill it up anew: once a year in the Month of *March* it ferments, and cannot be drunk till that is over, which continues a Month; but their other *Wine* ferments not at that time. *Madam Salin*, a Lady of that Country, who entertained us three Days with a Magnificence equal to what can be done in *London* or *Paris*, had *Wine* of this Composition, that was forty years old, and was so very strong, that one could hardly drink above a spoonful, and it tasted high of Spicery, though she assured me there was not one grain of Spice in it, nor of any other mixture whatsoever. Thus the heat that is in this *Wine*, becomes a fire, and distils it self, throwing up the more spirituous parts of it to the top of the Hogshead.

Both here, and in the *Grifons*, the *Meat* is very juicy, the *Fowl* is excellent, their *Roots* and *Herbs* very tasteful; but the *Fish* of their *Lakes* is beyond any thing I ever saw. They live in a great Simplicity as to their Habit and Furniture, but they have plenty of all things, and are extream rich; the *Family* where we were so nobly entertained, is believed to have about two hundred thousand *Crowns*: here the *Italian* custom, of one only of a *Family* that marries, takes place generally. There is a sort of *Pots of Stone* that is used not only in all the *Kitchens* here, but almost all *Lombardy* over, called *Lavege*, the *Stone* feels

eels oily and scaly, so that a Scale sticks to ones Finger that touches it, and is somewhat of the nature of a *Slate*; there are but three *Mines* of it known in these parts, one near *Chavennes*, another in the *Valteline*, and the third in the *Grisons*; but the first is much the best; they generally cut it in the *Mine* round, of about a Foot and a half Diameter, and about a Foot and quarter thick, and they work it in a Mill, where the Chizzels that cut the *Stone* are driven about by a Wheel that is set a going by Water, and which is so ordered, that he who manages the Chizzel, very easily draws forward the Wheel out of the course of the Water; they turn off first the outward coat of this *Stone*, till it is exactly smooth, and then they separate one *Pot* after another by those small and hooked Chizzels, by which they make a Nest of *Pots*, all one within another, the outward and biggest being as big as an Ordinary *Beef-pot*, and the inward *Pot* being no bigger than a small *Pipkin*; these they Arm with Hooks and Circles of Brass, and so they are served by them in their *Kitchens*. One of these *Stone-pots* takes heat and boils sooner than any *Pot* of *Mettle*; and whereas the Bottoms of *Mettle-pots* transmit the heat so intirely to the *Liquor* within, that they are not insufferably hot, the bottom of this *Stone-pot*, which is about twice so thick as a *Pot* of *Mettle*, burns extreamly; it never cracks neither gives it any sort of taste to the *Liquor* that is boiled in it; but if it falls to the Ground,

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it is very brittle; yet this is repaired by patching it up; for they piece their broken *Pots* so close, though without any cement, by sowing with Iron-wire the broken parcels together, that in the holes which they pierce with the Wire, there is not the least breach made, except that which the Wire both makes and fills. The passage to this *Mine* is very inconvenient; for they must creep into it for near *half a mile* through a *Rock*, that is so hard that the passage is not above three foot high, and so those that draw out the *Stones* creep all along upon their Belly, having a *Candle* fastned in their forehead, and the *Stone* laid on a sort of *Cushion* made for it upon their Hips: The *Stones* are commonly two hundred weight.

But having mentioned some falls of *Mountains* in those parts, I cannot pass by the extraordinary fate of the *Town* of *Pleurs*, that was about a league from *Chavennes* to the North, in the same bottom, but on a ground that is a little more raised: The *Town* was half the bigness of *Chavennes*, the number of the *Inhabitants* was about *two and twenty hundred* Persons, but it was much more Nobly Built; for besides the great *Palace* of the *Francken*, that cost some millions, there were many other *Palaces* that were built by several rich *Factors* both of *Milan*, and the other parts of *Italy*, who liked the *situation* and *air*, as well as the *freedom* of the *Government* of this place, so they used to come hither during the *Heats*, and here they gave themselves all the indulgence

indulgences that a vast Wealth could furnish. By one of the *Palaces*, that was a little distant from the *Town*, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the rest: It was an out-house of the *Family* of the *Francken*, and yet it may compare with many *Palaces* in *Italy*; and certainly, *House* and *Gardens* could not cost so little as one hundred thousand *Crowns*. The voluptuousness of this place became very crying, and *Madam de Salis* told me, that she heard her Mother often relate some passages of a *Protestant Ministers* Sermons, that Preached in a little *Church*, which those of the *Religion* had there, and warned them often of the terrible judgments of God which were hanging over their heads, and that he believed would suddenly break out upon them. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of *August* 1618. an *Inhabitant* came and told them to be gone; for he saw the *Mountains* cleaving; but he was laughed at for his pains: He had a *Daughter* whom he persuaded to leave all and go with him; but when she was gone out of *Town* with him, she called to mind that she had not locked the *Door* of a *Room* in which she had some things of *Value*, and so she went back to do that, and was buried with the rest; for at the hour of *Supper* the *Hill* fell down, and buried the *Town* and all the *Inhabitants*, so that not one *Person* escaped: The fall of the *Mountains* did so fill the *Charnel* of the *River*, that the first news those of *Chavennes* had of it, was by the failing of their *River*; for three

or four hours there came not a drop of *Water*; but the *River* wrought for it self a new course, and returned to them; I could hear no particular Character of the *Man* who escaped, so I must leave the secret Reason of so singular a Preservation to the great discovery at the last Day of those steps of Divine Providence, that are now so unaccountable. Some of the *Family* of the *Franksen* got some *Miners* to work under ground, to find out the *Wealth* that was buried in their *Palace*; for besides the *Plate* and *Furniture*, there was a great *Cash* and many *Jewels* in the *House*: the *Miners* pretended they could find nothing; but they went to their Country of *Tirol*, and Built fine Houses, and a great *Wealth* appeared, of which no other visible account could be given but this, that they had found some of that *Treasure*. The Chief *Factors* of *Italy* have been *Grifons*; and they told me, that as the Trade of *Banking* began in *Lombardy*, so that all *Europe* over, a *Lombard* and a *Bank* signified the same thing, so the great *Bankers* of *Lombardy* were *Grifons*, and to this day the *Grifons* drive a great Trade in *Money*; for a *Man* there of a hundred thousand *Crowns* Estate, hath not perhaps a third part of this within the Country, but puts it out in the Neighbouring *States*: And the *Liberty* of the Country is such, that the *Natives* when they have made up *Estates* elsewhere, are glad to leave even *Italy* and the best parts of *Germany*, and to come and live among those *Mountains*, of which  
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the very sight is enough to fill a Man with horror.

From *Chavennes* we went for two hours through a plain to the *Lake of Chavennes*, which is almost round, and is about two Mile Diameter. This *Lake* falls into the *Lake of Como*, over against the *Fort Fuentes*; when we passed there, the Water was so low, that the Boat could not easily get over a Bank that lay between the two *Lakes*. The *Lake of Como* is about eight and forty Miles long, and four broad; it runs between two ranges of Hills: I did not stay long enough in *Como* to give any Description of it; for I thought to have returned that way from a little Tour that I made into the *Bailiages* that the *Switzers* have in *Italy*, of *Lugane*, *Locarno*, and *Bellinzona*: but I took another Course, so I saw nothing in *Como*; the best thing in it is a fine *Chappel*, which the present *Pope*, who is a Native of *Como*, is building. From *Como* we went eight Miles to *Code-laggo*, which belongs to the *Switzers*, and from thence to *Lugane* we had eight Miles of *Lake*: This *Lake* doth not run in an even current, as the other *Lakes*, that rise under the *Alps*; but the situation of the *Hills* about it, throws it into several courses.

The *Switzers* have here several little *Provinces*, or *Bailiages*, of which during the *Wars of Italy*, between the *Dukes of Milan* and the two *Crowns*, in *Francis the first*, and *Charles the Fifth's* time, they possessed themselves of as a Pledge for payment of their *Arrears*; and they were then such considerable *Allies*, that they made both the Com-

petitors for the *Dutchy of Milan* Court them by turns, and became the peaceable Possessors of almost all that tract that lies between the *Lake of Como* to the Country of the *Valestii*, or the *Valleys*. The *Inhabitants* here are so well used, they live so free of all Impositions, and the *Switzers* Government is so gentle, that here I must tell you another Paradox, this is the worst Country, the least Productive, the most exposed to Cold, and the least Capable of Trade of all *Italy*; and yet it is by far the best Peopled of any that I saw in all *Italy*: There belongs to the *Bailiage* of *Lugane* alone, ninety nine *Villages*, of which a great many are very large, and all are full of People. The twelve Ancient *Cantons* have their turns of all the *Bailiages* and other Offices here: but when it comes to the turn of those of the *Religion*, their *Bailifs* must be contented with private Devotions in their own *House*, but can have no public Exercises, nor so much as a *Minister* in their Houses. For here, as in the *Valtelline*, when the *Spaniards* confirmed the Right of the *Cantons* to those *Territories*, they made an express Provision, that no *Religion* except the *Popish* should be tolerated here; so that the *Bailif*, who is the *Prince*, often hath not the free Liberty of his *Religion* in these Parts. The *Bailifs* here make their Advantages, as well as in the other Parts of *Switzerland*, but yet with more Caution; for they take great care not to give the *Natives* any distast, though the Miseries,

to

to which they see all their Neighbours exposed, and the Abundance and Liberty in which they live should by all appearance deliver their Masters from any great Apprehensions of a Revolt: A great many *Mechanicks* of all sorts live in these parts, who go all Summer long over *Italy*, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all *Taxes*. I was told, that some *Nephews* of *Popes*, in particular the *Barberines*, had treated with the *Switzers*, to buy this Country from them, and so to erect it into a *Principality*; and that they had resolved to offer twelve thousand *Crowns* to the twelve *Cantons*: but they found it would certainly be rejected, so they made not the proposition to the *Diet* of the *Cantons*, as they once intended: and it is certain, whenever this Country is brought under a Yoke, like that which the rest of *Italy* bears, it will be soon abandoned; for there is nothing that draws so many People to live in so ill a Soil, when they are in sight of the best Soil of *Europe*, but the easiness of the *Government*. From *Lugane* I went to the *Lago Maggiore*, which is a great and noble Lake, it is six and fifty Miles long, and in most places six Miles broad and a hundred Fathom deep about the middle of it, it makes a great Bay to the Westward; and there lies here two Islands, called the *Borromean Islands*, that are certainly the loveliest spots of ground in the World; there is nothing in all *Italy*, that can be compared to them; they have the full view of the Lake; and the ground



rises so sweetly in them, that nothing can be imagined like the *Terrasses* here; they belong to two *Counts* of the *Borromean Family*. I was only in one of them, which belongs to the *Head* of the *Family*, who is *Nephew* to the famous *Cardinal*, known by the name of *S. Carlo*: on the West-end lies the *Palace*, which is one of the best of *Italy*; for the Lodgings within, though the *Architecture* is but ordinary, there is one Noble Apartment above four and twenty foot high; and there is a vast Addition making to it; and here is a great Collection of Noble *Pictures*, beyond any thing I saw out of *Rome*: The whole *Island* is a Garden, except a little corner to the South, set off for a *Village* of about forty little Houses; and because the Figure of the *Island* was not more regular by Nature, they have Built great *Vaults* and *Porticos* along the *Rock*, which are all made Grotesque, and so they have brought it to a regular form by laying Earth over those *Vaults*. There is first a Garden to the East, that rises up from the *Lake* by five Rows of *Terrasses*, on the three sides of the Garden that are watered by the *Lake*; the Stairs are Noble; the Walls are all covered with *Oranges* and *Citrons*; and a more beautiful spot of a Garden cannot be seen: There are two Buildings in the two Corners of this Garden, the one is only a Mill for fetching up the Water, and the other is a Noble *Summer-house* all wainscotted, if I may speak so, with *Alabaster* and *Marble*, of a fine Colour

Colour, inclining to red ; from this *Garden* one goes in a level to all the rest of the *Alleys* and *Parterres*, *Herb-Gardens* and *Flower-Gardens* ; in all which there are variety of *Fountains* and *Arbors* ; but the great *Parterre* is a surprizing thing ; for as it is well furnished with *Statues* and *Fountains*, and is of a vast extent, and justly scituated to the Palace, so at the Further-end of it, there is a great *Mount*, that face of it that looks to the *Parterre* is made like a *Theater*, all full of *Fountains* and *Statues*, the height rising up in five several Rows, it being about fifty foot high, and about fourscore foot in front ; and round this *Mount*, answering to the five Rows into which the *Theater* is divided, there goes as many *Terrasses* of Noble *Walks* ; the *Walls* are all as close covered with *Oranges* and *Citrons* as any of our *Walls* in *England* are with *Laurel* : the Top of the *Mount* is seventy foot long and forty broad ; and here is a vast *Cistern*, into which the Mill plays up the Water that must furnish all the *Fountains* : The *Fountains* were not quite finished when I was there ; when all is finished, this place will look like an *Inchanted Island*. The Freshness of the Air, it being both in a *Lake*, and near the *Mountains*, the fragant Smell, the beautiful Prospect, and the delighting Variety that is here, makes it such a Habitation for *Summer*, that perhaps the whole World hath nothing like it. From this I went to *Sestio*, a miserable *Village* at the end of the *Lake*, and here I began

to feel a mighty change, being now in *Lombardy*, which is certainly the beautifullest Country that can be imagined, the ground lies so even, it is so well watered, so sweetly divided by Rows of Trees, inclosing every piece of ground of an Acre or two Acres compass, that it cannot be denied, that here is a vast extent of Soil, above two hundred Miles long, and in many places a hundred Miles broad, where the whole Country is equal to the loveliest spots in all *England* or *France*; it hath all the Sweetness that *Holland* or *Flanders* have, but with a warmer Sun, and a better Air; the Neighbour-hood of the Mountains causes a freshness of Air here, that makes the Soil the most desirable place to live in that can be seen, if the Government were not so excessively severe, that there is nothing but Poverty over all this rich Country. A Traveller in many places finds almost nothing, and is so ill furnished, that if he doth not buy provisions in the great Towns, he will be obliged to a very severe Diet, in a Country that he should think flowed with Milk and Honey: but I shall say more of this hereafter. The *Lago Maggiore* discharges it self in the River *Tesine*, which runs with such a force, that we went thirty Miles in three hours, having but one Rower, and the Water was no way swelled. From this we went into the Canale, which *Francis the First* cut from this River to the Town of *Milan*; which is about thirty foot broad, and on both its Banks there are such Provisions

ont to discharge the Water when it rises to such a height, that it can never be fuller of Water than is intended it should be; it lies also so even, that sometimes for six Miles together one sees the line so exact, that there is not the least crook: it is thirty Miles long, and is the best Advantage that the Town of Milan hath for Water-Carriage.

I will not entertain you with a long description of this great City, which is one of the noblest in the World, to be an Inland Town, that hath no great Court, no Commerce, either by Sea, or any Navigable River, and that is now the Metropolis of a very small State; for that which is not Mountainous in this State, is not above sixty Miles square, and yet it produces a Wealth that is surprizing: It pays for an establishment of seven and forty thousand Men, and yet there are not sixteen thousand Souldiers effectively in it; so many are eat up by those in whose hands the Government is lodged: But the Vastness of the Town, the Nobleness of the Buildings, and above all, the surprizing Riches of the Churches and Convents, are signs of great Wealth: The Dome hath nothing to commend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude Gothick manner; but for the vastness and Riches of the Building, it is equal to any in Italy, St. Peters itself not excepted. It is all Marble, both Pavement and Walls, both outside and inside, and on the Top it is all flagg'd with Marble; and there:

there is the vastest Number of *Niches* for *Statues* of *Marble*, both within and without, that are any where to be seen. It is true, the *Statues* in some of the *Niches* are not proportioned to the *Niches* themselves; the *Frontispiece* is not yet made, it is to be all over covered with *Statues* and *Bas-reliefs*; and the *Pillars*, of which there are four Rows in the Body of the *Church*, have each of them eight *Niches* at the top, for so many *Statues*; and though one would think this *Church* so full of *Statues*, that almost every *Saint* hath his *Statue*, yet I was assured, they wanted *seven thousand* to finish the design; but these must chiefly belong to the *Frontispiece*: the *Church*, as I could measure it by walking over it in an equal pace, is five hundred Foot long, and two hundred wide; the *Quire* is wainscotted and carved in so extraordinary a manner, that I never saw *Passion* so well expressed in *Wood*: it contains sixty Stalls, and they have almost all the *Histories* of the *Gospel* represented in them. Just under the *Cupula* lies *S. Carlo's* Body, as I was told, in a great Case of *Cristal* of vast value; but I could not come near it; for we were there on two *Holidays*, and there was a perpetual crowd about it; and the Superstition of the People for his Body, is such, that on a *Holiday* one runs a hazard that comes near it without doing some Reverence. His *Canonization* cost the Town a hundred thousand *Crowns*; they pretend they have *Miracles* too for Cardinal *Frederigo Borromeo*; but

but they will not set about his *Canonization*, the price is so high. The *Plate* and other Presents made to *S. Carlo* are things of a prodigious value; some *Services* for the *Altar* are all of *Gold*, some very *Massive*, and set with *Jewels*, others so finely wrought, that the fashion is thought equal to the value of the mettle; the *Habits* and all the other *Ornaments* for the Function of his *Canonization* are all of an incredible *Wealth*. He was indeed a *Prelate* of great merit, and according to the *Answer* that a *Fryer* made to *Philip de Comines*, when he asked him, how they came to qualify one of the worst of their *Princes* with the Title of *Saint* in an inscription which he read, which was, that they gave that *Title* to all their *Benefactors*; never Man deserved of a *Town* this *Title* so justly as *Cardinal Borromeo* did; for he laid out a prodigious *Wealth* in *Milan*, leaving nothing to his *Family*, but the honour of having produced so great a Man, which is a real temporal inheritance to it; for as there have been since that time, two *Cardinals* of that *Family*, so it is esteemed a *Casa Santa*; and every time that it produces an *Ecclesiastick* of any considerable merit, he is sure, if he lives to it, to be raised to this *Archbishoprick*; for if there were one of the *Family* capable of it, and that did not carry it, that alone might dispose the *State* to a *Rebellion*, and he were a bold Man that would adventure on a *Competition* with one of this *Family*. He laid out a great deal on the *Dome*, and consecrated it,

though



though the work will not be quite finished yet for some Ages; that being one of the Crafts of the *Italian Priests*, never to finish a great design, that so by keeping it still in an unfinished Estate, they may be always drawing great Donatives to it, from the Superstition of the People. He built the *Arch-Bishops Palace*, which is very noble, and a *Seminary*, a *Colledge* for the *Switzers*, several *Parish Churches*, and many *Convents*. In short, the whole *Town* is full of the marks of his Wealth. The Riches of the *Churches* of *Milan* strike one with amazement, the *Buildings*, the *Painting*, the *Altars*, and the *Plate*, and every thing in the *Convents*, except their *Libraries*, are all signs both of great Wealth and of a very powerful Superstition; but their *Libraries* not only here, but all *Italy* over, are scandalous things; the *Room* is often fine, and richly adorned, but the *Books* are few, ill bound, and worse-chosen; and the ignorance of the *Priests* both *secular* and *Regular* is such, that no Man, that hath not had occasion to discover it, can easily believe it. The *Convent* of *S. Victor*, that is without the *Town*, is by much the richest, it is composed of *Canons Regular*, called in *Italy* the *Order of Mount Olive*, or *Olivetans*; that of the *Barnabites* is extream Rich, there is a *Pulpit* and a *Confessional* all in-laid with *Agates* of different colours, finely spotted *Marbles*, and of *Lapis Lazulis*, that are thought almost inestimable. *S. Laurence* has a noble *Cupulo*, and a *Pulpit* of the same form with that of the *Barnabites*. The

*Jesuites,*

Jesuits, the Theatines, the Dominicans, and S. Sebastians are very Rich. The Cittadel is too well known to need a description; it is very regularly built, and is a most effectual restraint to keep the Town in order, but it could not stand out against a good Army three days; for it is so little, and so full of Buildings, that it could not resist a shower of Bombs. The Hospital is indeed a Royal Building; I was told it had Ninety Thousand Crowns Revenue. The old Court is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new Court that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty foot square, and there are three rows of Corridors or Galleries all round the Court, one in every Stage, according to the Italian manner, which makes the Lodgings very convenient, and gives a Gallery before every door. It is true, these take up a great deal of the Building, being ordinarily eight or ten Foot broad; but then here is an open space, that is extream cool on that side where the Sun doth not lye; for it is all open to the Air, the Wall being only supported by Pillars, at the distance of fifteen or twenty Foot one from another. In this Hospital there are not only Galleries full of Beds on both sides, as is ordinary in all Hospitals; but there are also a great many Chambers, in which Persons, whose condition was formerly distinguished, are treated with a particular Care. There is an out-house, which is called the Lazarette, that is without the Walls, which belongs

to this *Hospital*, it is an exact quarter of a mile square, and there are three-hundred and sixty *Rooms* in it, and a *Gallery* runs all along before the *Chambers*, so that as the service is convenient, the sick have a covered walk before their Doors. In the middle of this vast square there is an *Octangular Chappel*, so contrived, that the sick from all their Beds may see the *Elevation* of the *Hostie*, and adore it: This *House* is for the *Plague*, or for infectious *Fevers*; and the *Sick* that want a freer *Air*, are also removed hither.

As for the *Devotions* of this place, I saw here the *Ambrosian Office*, which is distinguished from the *Roman*, both in the *Musick*, which is much simpler, and in some other *Rites*: the *Gospel* is read in a high *Pulpit* at the lower end of the *Quire*, that so it may be heard by all the *People*; though this is needless, since it is read in a *Language* that they do not understand: when they go to say high *Mass*, the *Priest* comes from the high *Altar* to the lower end of the *Quire*, where the *Offertory* of the *Bread* and the *Wine* is made by some of the *Laity*; they were *Nuns* that made it when I was there; I heard a *Capucin* Preach here; it was the first *Sermon* I heard in *Italy*, and I was much surprized at many *Comical Expressions* and *Gestures*, but most of all with the *Conclusion*; for there being in all the *Pulpits* of *Italy* a *Crucifix* on the side of the *Pulpit* towards the *Altar*; he, after a long address to it, at last in a forced *Transport*, took it in his *Arms*, and hugged

hugged it, and kissed it: But I observed, that before he *kissed* it, he seeing some dust on it, blew it off very carefully; for I was just under the *Pulpit*: He entertained it with a long and tender Carefs, and held it out to the People, and would have forced Tears both from himself and them; yet I saw none shed. But if the *Sermon* in the Morning surprized me, I wondred no less at two *Discourses* that I heard in one *Church*, at the same time, in the Afternoon: for there were two Bodies of Men set down in different places of the *Church*, all covered, and two *Laymen* in ordinary habits were entertaining them with *Discourses* of *Religion* in a Catechistical stile: These were *Confrairies*, and those were some of the more devout, that instructed the rest. This, as I never saw any where else, so I do not know whether it is peculiar to *Milan*, or not. My *Conductor* could not speak *Latin*, and the *Italian* there is so different from the true *Tuscan*, which I only knew, that I could not understand him when he was engaged in a long discourse, so I was not clearly informed of this matter; but I am apt to think, it might have been some institution of *Cardinal Borromeos*. The *Ambrosian Library*, founded by *Cardinal Frederick Borromeo*, is a very noble *Room*, and well furnished, only it is too full of *Schoolmen*, and *Canonists*; which are the chief *Studies* of *Italy*; and it hath too few *Books* of a more solid and useful learning. One part of the disposition of the *Room* was Pleasant; there is a great number of

of *Chairs*, placed all round it at a competent distance from one another; and to every *Chair* there belongs a *Desk*, with an *Eseritoire*, that hath Pen, Ink, and Paper in it; so that every Man finds tools here for such extracts as he would make. There is a little Room of *Manuscripts* at the end of the great *Gallery*, but the *Library-keeper* knows little of them; a great many of them relate to their *Saint Charles*. I saw some fragments of *Latin Bibles*, but none seemed to be above six hundred *Years* old; there are also some fragments of *Saint Ambroses Works*, and of *Saint Jeroms Epistles*, that are of the same antiquity. I was sorry not to find *Saint Ambrose's Works* intire, that I might have seen, whether the *Books* of the *Sacrament* are ascribed to him in ancient *Copies*; for perhaps they belong to a more modern *Author*. It is true, in these *Books*, the *Doctrine* of a sort of a *corporal presence* is asserted in very high expressions; but there is one thing mentioned in them, which is stronger against it, than all those *Citations* can be for it; for the *Author* gives us the formal Words of the *Prayer of Consecration* in his time, which he prefaces with some solemnity: *will you know how the change is wrought, bear the Heavenly Words? For the Priest saith, &c.* But whereas in the present *Canon* of the *Mass*, the *Prayer of Consecration* is for a good part of it very near in the same Words with those which he mentions, there is one essential difference; for in the *Canon* they now pray, that the *Hosty* may be to them the

- Body

Body and Blood of Christ, (which by the way doth not agree too well with the notion of Transubstantiation, and approacheth more to the Doctrine of the Lutherans;) whereas in the Prayer, cited by that Author, the Hosty is said to be the Figure of the Body and Blood of Christ: here is the Language of the whole Church of that time, and in the most important part of the Divine Office, which signifieth more to me, than a thousand Quotations out of particular Writers, which are but their Private Opinions: but this is the Voice of the whole Body in its Addresses to God: and it seems, the Church of Rome, when the new Doctrine of the Corporal Presence was received, saw that this Prayer of Consecration could not consist with it, which made her change such a main part of the Office. This gave me a curiosity every where to search for ancient Offices, but I found none in the Abbey of St. Germain, that seemed older than the times of Charles the Great; so I found none of any great Antiquity in all Italy: Those published by Cardinal Bona, and since by P. Mabillon, that were brought from Heidelberg, are the most ancient that are in the Vatican; but these seem not to be above eight hundred years old: There are none of the ancient Roman Offices now to be seen in the Vatican. I was amazed to find none of any great Antiquity; which made me conclude, that either they were destroyed, that so the difference between Ancient and Modern Rituals might not be turned against that Church, as an undeniable Evidence, to prove the



the *Changes* that *she* hath made in *divine Matters*; or, that they were so well kept, that *Hereticks* were not to be suffered to look into them. But to return to the *Ambrosian Library*, there is in it a *Manuscript* of great *Antiquity*, though not of such great consequence, which is *Ruffinus's* Translation of *Jesephus*, that is written in the old *Roman hand*, which is very hard to be read. But there is a deed in the curious Collection that *Count Mascardo* hath made at *Verona*, which by the date appears to have been written in *Theodosius's* time, which is the same sort of writing with the *Manuscript* of *Ruffinus*, so that it may be reckoned to have been writ in *Ruffinus* his own time, and this is the most valuable, though the least known *Curiosity* in the whole *Library*.

I need not say any thing of the curious *Works* in *Chrystal* that are to be seen in *Milan*, the greatest quantities that are in *Europe*, are found in the *Alps*, and are wrought here; but this is too well known to need any further enlargement. It is certain, the *Alps* have much *Wealth* shut up in their *Rocks*, if the *Inhabitants* knew how to search for it: But I heard of no *Mines* that were wrought, except *Iron Mines*; yet by the colourings, that in many places, the *Fountains* make, as they run along the *Rocks*, one sees cause to believe, that there are *Mines* and *Minerals* shut up within them. *Gold* hath been often found in the River of *Arve*, that runs by *Geneva*.

The last *curiosity* that I shall mention of the *Town of Milan*, is the *Cabinet* of the *Chanonine Settala*, which is now in his *Brothers* hands, where there

there are a great many very valuable things, both of Art and Nature: there is a lump of Ore, in which there is both Gold and Silver, and Emeralds, and Diamonds, which was brought from Peru. There are many curious motions, where by an unseen Spring, a Ball, after it hath rowled down through many winding descents, is thrown up, and so it seems to be a perpetual motion; this is done in several forms, and it is well enough disguised to deceive the vulgar. Many motions of little Animals, that run about by Springs, are also very pretty. There is a Load-stone of a vast force, that carries a great Chain: There is also a monstrous Child, that was lately Born in the Hospital, which is preserved in Spirit of Wine: it is double below, it hath one Breast and Neck, two pair of Ears, a vast Head, and but one Face. As for the Buildings in Milan, they are big and substantial; but they have not much regular, or beautiful Architecture: The Governor's Palace hath some noble Apartments in it: The chief Palace of the Town is that of the *Homo ei*, which was built by a Bankier. There is one Inconvenience in Milan, which throws down all the Pleasure that one can find in it: They have no glass Windows, so that one is either exposed to the Air, or shut up in a Dungeon: and this is so universal, that there is not one House of ten that hath Glass in their Windows: The same Defect is in Florence, besides all the small Towns of Italy, which is an effect of their Poverty:

ty: For what by the Oppression of the Government, what by the no less squeezing Oppression of their Priests, who drain all the rest of their Wealth, that is not eat up by the Prince, to enrich their *Chutobes* and *Convents*, the People here are reduced to a Poverty, that cannot be easily believed by one that sees the Wealth that is in their *Churches*: and this is going on so constantly in *Milan*, that it is scarce accountable from whence so vast a Treasure can be found; but *Purgatory* is a Fund not easily exhausted. The Wealth of the *Milanese* consists chiefly in their *Silks*, and that Trade falls so mightily by the vast Importations that the *East India Companies* brings into *Europe*, that all *Italy* feels this very sensibly, and languish extremely by the great fall that is in the *Silk Trade*. There is a great magnificence in *Milan*; the *Nobility* affect to make a noble Appearance, both in their Cloaths, their Coaches, and their Attendants; and the *Women* go abroad with more Freedom here, than in any Town of *Italy*. And thus I have told you all that hath hitherto occurred to me, that I thought worth your knowledge. I am

Your

*Postscript.*

In the Account that I gave you of *Geneva*, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary Person that is there, *Mistress Walkier*; her Father is of *Shuff-House*, she lost her sight when she was but a year old, by being too near a Stove that was very hot: There rests in the upper part of her

eye

eye so much sight, that she distinguishes day from night: and when any Person stands between her and the light, she will distinguish by the Head and it's dress a Man from a Woman; but when she turns down her Eyes, she sees nothing: she hath a vast Memory; besides the *French*, that is her Natural Language, she speaks both *High-Dutch*, *Italian* and *Latin*: she hath all the *Psalms* by heart, in *French*, and many of them in *Dutch* and *Italian*: she understands the *Old Philosophy* well; and is now studying the *New*: she hath studied the Body of *Divinity* well, and hath the *Text* of the *Scriptures* very ready: On all which matters I had long conversation with her; she not only *sings* well, but she Plays rarely on the *Organ*; and I was told, she played on the *Violin*, but her *Violin* was out of order. But that which is most of all, is, she *Writes* legibly: in order to her learning to write, her Father, who is a worthy man, and hath such tenderness for her, that he furnisheth her with Masters of all sorts, ordered *Letters* to be Carved in Wood, and she by feeling the *Characters*, formed such an *Idea* of them, that she Writes with a *Crayon* so distinctly, that her Writing can be well Read, of which I have several Essays. I saw her Write; she doth it more nimbly than can be imagined; she hath a Machine that holds the Paper, and keeps her always in Line. But that which is above all the rest, she is a Person of extraordinary Devotion,

great

great resignation to the Will of God, and a profound humility: The *Preceptor*, that her Father kept in the House with her, hath likewise a wonderful Faculty of acquiring *Tongues*. When he came first to *Geneva* (for he is of *Zurich*) he spoke not a word of *French*, and within thirteen Months he preacht in *French* correctly, and with a good Accent: He also began to study *Italian* in the Month of *November*, and before the end of the following *February* he preacht in *Italian*; his accent was good, and his stile was florid, which was very extraordinary; for the *Italian* Language is not spoken in *Geneva*, though the race of the *Italians* do keep up still an *Italian Church* there.

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## THE THIRD LETTER.

*Florence, the 5th of November, 1685.*

I Have now another Month over my Head, since I Writ last to you, and so I know you expect an Account of the most considerable things that have occurred to me since my last from *Milan*. Twenty Miles from *Milan* we past through *Lodi*, a miserable Garrison, though a Frontier Town; but indeed, the Frontiers, both of the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians*, as well as those of the other *Princes* of *Italy*, shew, that they are not very apprehensive of one another; and  
when

when one passes through those places, which are represented in *History*, as places of great strength, capable of resisting a long Siege, he must acknowledge, that the sight of them, brings the Idea that he had conceived of them a great many degrees lower. For *Lombardy*, which was so long the seat of War, could not stand out against a good Army now so many days, as it did then years. The Garrison of *Crema*, which is the first of the *Venetian* Territory, is no better than that of *Lodi*, only the People in the *Venetian* *Dominion* live happier than under the *Spaniard*.

The *Senate* sends *Podestà's*, much like the *Bailiffs* of the *Switzers*, who order the Justice and the Civil Government of the *Jurisdiction* assigned them : There is also a *Captain General*, who hath the *Military Authority* in his hands; and these two are Checks upon one another; as the *Bassa's* and the *Cadi's* are among the *Turks*. But here in *Crema*, the Town is so small, that both these are in one Person. We were there in the time of the Fair; *Linnen Cloath*, and *Cheese* (which though it goes by the name of the *Parmesan*, is made chiefly in *Lodi*) are the main Commodities of the Fair. The magnificence of the *Podestà* appeared very extraordinary; for he went through the Fair with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own Livery; and the two Coaches, in which he and his Lady ride, were both extraordinary rich: his was a huge Bed-coach, all the out-side black Velvet, and a mighty rich Gold  
G Fringe,



Fringe, lined with black Damask, flowered with Gold. From *Crema* it is thirty Miles to *Brescia*, which is a great Town, and full of Trade and Wealth; here they make the best *Barrils* for *Pistols* and *Muskets* of all *Italy*: there are great Iron Works near it; but the *War* with the *Turk* had occasioned an order, that none might be sold without a Permission from *Venice*: They are building a Noble *Dome* at *Brescia*: I was shewed a *Nummery* there, which is now under a great Disgrace; some years ago, a new *Bishop* coming thither, began with the Visitation of that *Nummery*; he discovered two *Vaults*, by one, Men came ordinarily into it: and by another, the *Nuns* that were big, went and lay in of Child-bed: when he was examining the *Nuns* severely concerning those *Vaults*, some of them told him, that his own *Priests* did much worse. He shut up the *Nuns*, so that those who are professed live still there, but none come to take the Vail: and by this means the House will soon come to an end. The *Cittadel* lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it absolutely. Both here, and in *Crema*, the Towns have begun a Complement within these last ten or twelve years to their *Podesta's*, which is a matter of great Ornament to their *Palaces*, but will grow to a vast charge; for they erect *Statues* to their *Podesta's*; and this being once begun, must be carried on; otherwise those to whom the like honour is not done, will resent it as a high affront; and the

Revenge

Revenge of the Noble *Venetians*, are dreadful things to their Subjects. This name of *Podesta* is very ancient; for in the *Roman* times, the chief Magistrates of the lesser Towns were called the *Podestas*, as appears by that of *Juvenal*, *Fidenarum Gabiorum esse Podestatem*.

From *Brescia*, the beauty of *Lombardy* is a little interrupted; for as all the way from *Milan* to *Brescia* is as one Garden, so here on the one side we come under the Mountains, and we pass by the Lake of *Guarda*, which is forty Miles long, and where it is broadest, is twenty Miles over. The Miles indeed, all *Lombardy* over, are extream short; for I walkt often four or five Miles in a walk, and I found a thousand paces made their common Mile; but in *Tuscany* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Mile is fifteen hundred paces. We pass through a great Heath for seven or eight Miles on this side of *Verona*, which begins to be cultivated. *Verona* is a vast Town, and much of it well built; there are many rich Churches in it: but there is so little Trade stirring, and so little Money going, that it is not easie here to change a *Pistol*, without taking their Coyn of base Alloy which doth not pass out of the *Veronesie*: for this seems a strange Maxim of the *Venetians*, to suffer those small States, to retain still a Coyn peculiar to them, which is extream inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of *Verona* is the *Amphitheater*, one of the least of all that the *Romans* buile, but the best preserved; for the most of the great Stones of the outside are pickt out;

yet the great *Stopping Vault*, on which the rows of the seats are laid, is intire; the rows of the seats are also intire, they are four and forty Rows; every Row is a foot and half high, and as much in breadth, so that a Man sits conveniently in them under the feet of those of the higher Row: and allowing every Man a foot and a half, the whole *Amphitheater* can hold twenty three thousand Persons. In the *Vaults*, under the Rows of Seats, were the stalls of the *Beasts* that were presented to entertain the Company: the thickness of the Building, from the outward Wall to the lowest Row of Seats, is ninety foot: But this Noble Remnant of *Antiquity*, is so often, and so copiously described, that I will say no more of it. The next thing of value is the famous *Museum Calceolarium*, now in the Hands of the Count *Mascardo*, where there is a whole Apartment of Rooms, all furnisht with *Antiquities*, and *Rarities*. There are some old Inscriptions, made by two Towns in *Africk*, to the great honour of *M. Crassius*: There is a Collection of *Medals* and *Medaillons*, and of the *Roman Weights*, with their Instruments for their *Sacrifices*, there are many Curiosities of Nature, and a great Collection of *Pictures*, of which many are of *Paulo Veronese's* Hand. There is a noble Garden in *Verona*, that riseth up in Terrasses the whole height of a Hill, in which there are many ancient Inscriptions, which belongs to Count *Giusto*. As we go from *Verona* to *Vincenza*, which is thirty Miles,

Miles, we return to the Beauty of *Lombardy*; for there is all the way as it were a Succession of Gardens, the ground is better cultivated here, than I saw it in any other place of *Italy*: But the *Wine* is not good; for at the roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine, which grows up winding about the Tree, to which it joyns; but the Soil is too rich to produce a rich *Wine*; for that requires a dry ground. There is near the *Lake of Guarda* a very extraordinary *Wine*, which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the best sort of *Canary*, it is not made till *Christmas*, and from thence it carries the Name of *Holy Wine*; and it is not to be drunk till *Midsummer*; for it is so long before it is quite wrought clear; but I have not marked down how long it may be kept: we had it there for a *Groat* an *English* quart; I wondred that they did not trade with it. All the *Cattle* of *Italy* are gray or white, and all their *Hogs* are black, except in the *Bolognese*, and there they are red. I will not inquire into the reasons of these things: It is certain, *Hogs flesh* in *Italy* is much better than it is in *France* and *England*, whether the truffs on which they feed much in Winter, occasion this or not, I know not; the husks of the pressed Grapes is also a mighty nourishment to them; but *Cattle* of that grayish colour, are certainly weaker: The Carriage of *Italy* is generally performed by them; and this is very hard work in *Lombardy*, when it hath rained ever so little; for the ground being quite level, and

there being no raised High-ways, or Cause-ways, the Carts go deep, and are hardly drawn.

*Vincenza* hath still more of its ancient liberty reserved than any of these Towns, as *Padua* hath less; for it delivered it self to the *Venetians*; whereas the other disputed long with it, and brought it often very low: one sees the marks of Liberty in *Vincenza*, in the Riches of their Palaces and Churches, of which many are newly built: they have a modern Theatre, made in imitation of the ancient Roman Theaters. Count *Nalorano's* Gardens at the Port of *Verona*, is the finest thing of the Town; there is in it a very noble Alley of Oranges and Citrons, some as big as a Mans Body, but those are covered all the Winter long; for in this appears the sensible difference of *Lombardy* from those parts of *Italy*, that lye to the South of the *Apennin*, that here generally they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great Boxes, as we do in *England*, that so they may be lodged in Winter, and defended from the Breezes, that blow sometimes so sharp from the *Alps*, that otherwise they would kill those delicate Plants: whereas in *Tuscany*, they grow as other Trees in their Gardens; and in the Kingdom of *Naples*, they grow wild, without any care or cultivation. We were at *Vincenza* upon a Holy day, and there I saw a preparation for a Procession that was to be in the afternoon: I did not wonder at what a French Papist said to me, that he could hardly bear the Religion of *Italy*, the Idolatry in it was so gross. The Statue of the Virgin was

of

of Wood, so finely painted, that I thought the head was Wax; it was richly clad, and had a Crown on it's Head, and was set full of Flowers: how they did when it was carryed about, I do not know; but in the morning all people ran to it, and said their prayers to it, and Kissed the Ground before it, with all the appearances of Devotion.

From *Vincenza* it is eighteen miles to *Padua*, all like a Garden: here one sees the decays of a vast City, which was once one of the biggest of all *Italy*; the compass is the same that it was, but there is much uninhabited ground in it, and Houses there go almost for nothing; the Air is extream good, and there is so great a plenty of all things, except Money, that a little Money goes a great way. The *University* here, though so much supported by the *Venetians*, that they pay fifty *Professors*, yet sinks extreamly: there are no Men of any great Fame now in it: and the quarrels among the *Students* have driven away most of the *Strangers* that used to come and study here; for it is not safe to stir abroad here after Sun Set: The number of the *Palaces* here is incredible, and though the *Nobility* of *Padua* is almost quite ruined, yet the Beauty of their Ancient *Palaces* shews what they once were. The *Venetians* have been willing to let the Ancient Quarrels that were in all those Conquered Cities continue still among them; for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take

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their



their *Revenge*s afterwards, both comes under the *Bando* by this means, and the Confiscation goes to the *Senate*. At some times of *Grace*, when the Senate wants Money, and offers a Pardon to all that will compound for it, the numbers of the guilty Persons are incredible. In *Vincenza*, and the Country that belongs to it, I was assured by *Monfieur Patin*, that Learned Antiquary, that hath been many years a *Professor* in *Padua*, that there were five and thirty thousand pardoned at the last *Grace*; this I could hardly believe, but he bid me write it down upon his word. The Nobility of *Padua*, and of the other Towns, seem not to see what a profit their Quarrels bring to the *Venetians*, and how they eat out their Families: for one Family in the same mans time; who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen thousand *Ducats* Revenue, to less than three thousand, by it's falling at several times under the *Bando*: But their Jealousies and their *Revenge*s are pursued by them with so much vigor, that when these are in their way, all other things are forgot by them. There is here the remnant of the *Amphitheater*, though nothing but the outward Wall stands: There is here, as well as in *Milan*, an inward Town, called the *City*, and an outward, without that, called the *Bourgo*; but though there is a Ditch about the City, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all, and *Padua* is eight Miles in compass; it lies almost round: The publick *Hall* is the Noblest of *Italy*:  
The

The *Dome* is an Ancient and mean Building: But the Church of *St. Anthony*, especially the *Holy Chappel* in it, where the *Saint* lies, is one of the best pieces of modern Sculpture; for round the Chappel, the chief *Miracles* in the legend of that *Saint* are represented in *Mezzo Relievo*, in a very surprizing manner: The Devotion that is paid to this *Saint*, all *Lombardy* over, is amazing: he is called by way of excellence *il Santo*, and the Beggars generally ask Alms for his sake: But among the little Vows that hang without the *Holy Chappel*, there is one that is the highest pitch of *Blasphemy* that can be imagined, *Exaudis*, speaking of the *Saint*, *quis non audit & ipse Deus*; he bears those whom God himself doth not bear. *St. Justina* is a Church so well ordered within, the *Architecture* is so beautiful, it is so well inlightned, and the *Cupulo's* are so advantageously placed, that if the outside answered the inside, it would be one of the best Churches of *Italy*; but the Building is of Brick, and it hath no Frontispiece; there are many new Altars, made as fine as they are Idolatrous, all full of *Statues* of Marble. This *Abby* hath a hundred thousand *Ducats* of Revenue, and so by its Wealth one may conclude that it belongs to the *Benedictine Order*. *Cardinal Barberigo* is *Bishop* here; he seems to set *St. Carlo* before him as his pattern; he hath founded a Noble *Seminary* for the secular *Priests*; he lives in a constant discipline himself, and endeavours to re-

form his *Clergy* all he can ; but he is now in ill terms with his *Canons*, who are all *Noble Venetians*, and so allow themselves great liberties, of which they will not be willingly abridged : he is charitable to a high degree, and is in all respects a very extraordinary Man.

In the *Venetian Territory* their Subjects live easie and happy, if they could be so wise as to give over their *Quarrels* ; but though the Taxes are not high, they oppress their Tenants so severely, that the *Peasants* live most miserably ; yet on all hands round about them, the Oppressions being more intolerable, they know not whither to go for ease ; whereas on the contrary, the miseries under which their Neighbours groan, chiefly those of the *Ecclesiastical State*, send in an increase of people among them, so that they are well stocked with people ; but the *Venetians* are so jealous of their Subjects understanding *Military* matters, which may dispose them to revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their *Wars* ; this jealousy is the true ground of that maxim, though another is pretended, that is more plausible, which is, their Care of their own people, whom they study to preserve, and therefore they hire Strangers, rather than expose their Subjects. It is certain, a revolt here, were no hard matter to effectuate ; for the *Garrisons* and *Fortifications* are so slight, that those great *Towns* could easily shake off their yoke, if it were not for the Factions that still reign among them,

them, by which one party would chuse rather to expose the other to the rigor of the *Inquisitors*, than concur with them in asserting their Liberty; and the *Inquisitors* in such cases proceed so secretly, and yet so effectually, that none dares trust another with a Secret of such consequence; and the oppressed *Nobility* of those *States*, retain still so much of their old and unsubdued Insolence, and treat such as are under them so cruelly, that the *Venetians* are as secure in those Conquests, as if they had many strong *Cittadels*, and numerous *Garrisons* spread up and down among them. From *Padua* down to *Venice*, all along the River *Brent*, there are many *Palaces* of the Noble *Venetians* on both sides of the River, Built with so great a Variety of *Architecture*, that there is not one of them like another; there is also the like diversity in the laying out of their Gardens; and here they retire during the hot Months; and some allow themselves all the excesses of dissolute Liberty that can possibly be imagined. From *Lizza Fucina* which is at the mouth of the *Brent*, we pass for five or six Miles on the *Lagunes*, or shallows, to *Venice*; these shallows sink of late so much, that the preserving *Venice* still an *Island* is like to become as great a charge to the *Venetians*, as the keeping out the *Sea* is to the *Dutch*; for they use all possible industry to cleanse the Channels of their *Lagunes* and to keep them full of Water: and yet many think, that the Water hath failed so much in this last age, that if it continues to abate at the same

same rate, within an Age or two more, *Venice* may become a part of the *Terra firma*. It is certainly the most surprizing sight in the whole World, to see so vast a *City*, situated thus in the *Sea*, and such a number of *Islands* so united together by *Bridges*, brought to such a regular Figure, the *Pilotty* supplying the want of Earth to build on, and all so nobly built, which is of all the things that one can see the most amazing. And though this *Republick* is much sunk from what it was, both by the great Losses they have suffered in their *Wars* with the *Turks*, and by the great decay of *Trade*, yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vast plenty of all things in this place. I will not offer to describe neither the *Church* nor the *Palace* of *S. Mark*, which are too well known to need a long digression to be made for them; the Painting of the Walls, and the Roofs of the Halls, and publick Rooms in the *Palace*, are of vast value: Here I saw that Story of *Pope Alexander* the III. treading on the Neck of the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*. The Nobleness of the Stair-cases, the Riches of the Halls, and the Beauty of the whole Building, are much prejudiced by the Beastliness of those that walk along, and that leave their marks behind them, as if this were rather a common House of Office, than so Noble a *Palace*: And the great Hall, where the whole Body of the Nobility meet, in the *Great Council*, hath nothing but the roof and walls that answers to such an Assembly; for the Seats are  
likewise

liker the benches of an Auditory of Scholars, than of so glorious a Body. When the two sides of this *Palace* are built as the third, which is the most hid, it will be one of the gloriouſest *Palaces* that the World can shew. The two sides that are most seen, the one facing the square of *S. Mark*, and the other the great *Canale*, are only of Brick, the third being all of Marble, but the *War of Candy* put a stop to the Building. *St. Mark's Church* hath nothing to recommend it, but its great Antiquity, and the vast Riches of the Building, it is dark and low; but the pavement is so rich a Mosaick, and the whole roof is also Mosaick, the outside and inside are of such excellent Marble, the Frontispeice is adorned with so many Pillars of *Porphyry* and *Jasper*, and above all with the four Horses of *Corinthian Brass*, that *Tiridates* brought to *Tiberius*, which were carried afterwards to *Constantinople*, and were brought from thence to *Venice*, and in which the gilding is still very bright, that when all this is considered, one doth no where see so much cost brought together. I did not see the *Gospel* of *St. Mark*, which is one of the valuableſt things of the *Treasure*; but they do not now open it to Strangers; yet *Doctor Grandi*, a Famous Physitian there, told me, that by a particular order; he was suffered to open it; he told me, it was all Writ in *Capital Letters*, but the Characters were so worn out, that though he could discern the Ends of some Letters, he could not see enough to help him to distinguish them,



or to know whether the M.S. was in *Greek* or *Latin*. I will not say one Word of the *Arsenal*; for as I saw it in its worst State, the War that is now on foot having disfurnished a great deal of it, so it hath been often described, and it is known to be the Noblest Magazine, the best ordered, and of the greatest variety, that is in the whole World: its true, it is all that this State hath; so that if the Magazines of other Princes, which lie spread up and down in the different Places of their Dominions, were gathered together, they would make a much greater shew. The Noblest Convent of Venice is that of the *Dominicans*, called *Saint John* and *Saint Paul*; the Church and Chappels are vastly rich: there is one of *Saint Luke's Madonna's* here, as they pretend; the Dormitory is very great; the Room for the Library, and every thing in it, except the Books, is extream fine. But *Saint George's* which is a Convent of the *Benedictines*, in an Isle intirely possessed by them, over against *Saint Mark's* square, is much the richest: the Church is well contrived, and well adorned: and not only the whole Building is very magnificent; but which is more extraordinary at Venice, they have a large Garden, and noble Walks in it. The *Redemptore* and the *Salute*, are two Noble Churches, that are the effects of Vows that the Senate made when they were afflicted with the Plague; the latter is much the finer, it is to the Virgin; and the other is only to our Saviour: so naturally doth the Devotion of that Church carry  
it

it higher for the *Mother* than the *Son*. It is true, the *Salute* is latter than the other, so no wonder if the *Architecture* and the *Riches* exceed that which is more *Ancient*. The *School of Saine Roch*, and the *Chappel*, and *Hall*, are full of great pieces of *Tintorets*: a *Cena*, of *Paulo Veronese* in the *Refectory* of *St. George*, and the *Pi-cture* of *St. Peter* the *Martyr*, of *Titians*, are the most celebrated pieces of *Venice*: *Duke Pesaro's* *Tomb* in the *Frairy* is the *Noblest* I ever saw. But if the *riches* of all the *Convents*, and the *Parish Churches* of *Venice* amazed me, the *Fronts* especially, many of which are of *white Marble*, beautified with several *Statues*; the meanness of the *Library* of *St. Mark* did not less surprize me. There are in the *Antichamber* to it, *Statues* of vast value, and the whole *Roof* of the *Library* is composed of several pieces of the greatest *Masters* put in several *Frames*: but the *Library* hath nothing answerable to the *Riches* of the *Cafe*; for the *Greek Manuscripts* are all modern, I turned over a great many, and saw none above five hundred years old: I was indeed told, that the last *Library-keeper* was accused for having conveyed away many of their *Manuscripts*; and that four years ago being clapt in *Prison* for this by the *Inquisitors*, he, to prevent further *Severities*, *Poisoned* himself. I went to the *Convent* of the *Servi*; but I found *Father Paul* was not in such consideration there, as he is elsewhere. I asked for his *Tomb*, but they made no account of him

him, and seemed not to know where it was; it is true, the Person to whom I was recommended, was not in *Venice*, so perhaps they refined too much in this matter: I had great Discourse with some at *Venice* concerning the *Memorials* out of which *F. Paul* drew his *History*, which are no doubt all preserved with great care in their *Archives*; and since the *Transactions* of the *Council of Trent*, as they are of great Importance, so they are become now much controverted, by the different Relations that *F. Paul*, and *Cardinal Pallavicini* have given the World of that matter; the only way to put an end to all Disputes in matter of Fact, is to print the *Originals* themselves. A Person of great Credit at *Venice*, promised to me, to do his utmost, to get that Proposition set on foot, though the great Exactness that the Government there hath always affected, as to the matter of their *Archives*, is held so sacred, that this made him apprehend, they would not give way to any such search. The Affinity of the matter brings into my mind a long Conversation that I had with a Person of great Eminence at *Venice*, that as he was long at *Constantinople*, so he was learned far beyond what is to be met with in *Italy*; he told me, he was at *Constantinople* when the Inquiry into the Doctrine of the *Greek Church* was set on foot, occasioned by the Famous Dispute between *Mr. Arnaud* and *Mr. Claude*, he being a zealous *Roman Catholick*, was dealt with to assist in that business; but being a Man of great Honour

Honour and Sincerity, he excused himself, and said, he could not meddle in it: He hath a very low and bad Opinion of the *Greeks*; and he told me, *That none of their Priests were more inveterate Enemies to the Church of Rome than those that were bred up at Rome*; for they, to free themselves of the prejudices that their Countrymen are apt to conceive against them, because of their Education among the *Latins*, do effect to shew an Opposition to the *Latin Church* beyond any other *Greeks*. He told me, that he knew the Ignorance and Corruption of the *Greeks* was such, that as they did not know the Doctrines of their own Church, so a very little Money, or the hope of Protection from any of the *Ambassadors* that came from the *West*, would prevail with them to sign any thing that could be desired of them. He added one thing, that though he firmly believed *Transubstantiation* himself, he did not think they believed it, let them say what they pleased themselves; he took his measures of the Doctrine of their Church, rather from what they did, than from what they said: For their *Rites*, not being changed now for a great many ages, were the true Indications of the Doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the Tradition of their Doctrine, and very apt to prevaricate when they saw Advantages or Protection set before them; therefore he concluded, that since they did not adore the *Sacrament* after the Consecration, that was an evident sign that they

did

did not believe the *Corporal Presence*; and was of a force well able to balance all their Subscriptions: He told me, he was often scandalized to see them open the Bag in which the *Sacrament* was preserved, and shew it with no sort of respect, no more than when they shewed any *Manuscript*; and he looked on *Adoration* as such a necessary Consequent of *Transubstantiation*, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a Church that did not practice the former. To this I will add what an Eminent *Catholic* at *Paris* told me; he said, the *Originals* of those Attestations, were in too exact and too correct a stile, to have been formed in *Greece*; he assured me, they were penned at *Paris*, by one that was a Master of the Purity of the *Greek Tongue*. I do not name these Persons, because they are yet alive, and this might be a prejudice to them. One of the chief Ornaments of *Venice* was the famous young Woman that spake five Tongues well, of which the *Latin* and *Greek* were two; she passed Doctor of Physick at *Padua*, according to the ordinary Forms; but which was beyond all, she was a Person of such extraordinary Vertue and Piety, that she is spoken of as a Saint; she died some Months before I came to *Venice*: she was of the noble Family of the *Cornaro's*, though not of the three chief Branches, which are *Saint Maurice*, *Saint Paul*, and *Galle*, who are descended from the three Brothers of the renowned *Queen of Cyprus*, but the distinction of her Family was *Piscopia*. Her extraordinary

Extraordinary merit made all People unwilling to remember the blemish of her descent of the one side; for though the *Cornaro's* reckon themselves a size of *Nobility* beyond all the other Families of *Venice*, yet her Father having entertained a *Gondalier's* Daughter so long, that he had some Children by her, at last for their sakes married the Mother, and payed a considerable Fine to save the forfeiture of *Nobility*, which his Children must have undergone, by reason of the meanness of the Mothers Birth. The *Cornaro's* carry it so high, that many of the Daughters of that Family have made themselves *Nuns*, because they thought their own Name was so Noble, that they could not induce themselves to change it with any other; and when lately one of that Family married the Heir of the *Sagredo*, which is also one of the ancientest Families, that was extream rich, and she had scarce any portion at all, (for the *Cornaro's* are now very low) some of their Friends came to wish them joy of so advantageous a Match; but they very coldly rejected the Complement, and bid the others go and wish the *Sagredo's* joy, since they thought the Advantage was wholly of their side.

There are of truly Ancient Noble Families of *Venice*, four and twenty yet remaining, and even among these, there are twelve that are thought superior to the rest in rank: since the first Formation of their *Senate*, they have created many *Senators*. In their Wars with *Genoa* they conferred  
that



that honour on thirty Families: several of their *Generals* have had that honour given them as a reward of their service: They have also offered this honour to some Royal Families; for both the Families of *Valois* and *Bourbon*, were Nobles of *Venice*; and *Henry* the III. when he came through *Venice* from *Poland*, to take possession of the Crown of *France*, went and sate among them, and drew his *Ballot* as a Noble *Venetian*: many *Popes* have procured this honour for their *Nephews*. Only the *Barberines* would have the *Venetians* offer it to them without their asking it, and the *Venetians* would not give it without the others asked it, and so it stuck at this. But during the *War* of *Candy*, Cardinal *Francis Barberin* gave twelve thousand *Crowns* a Year towards the War, and the temper found for making them Noble *Venetians* was, that the *Queen Mother* of *France* moved the *Senate* to grant it. In all the Creations of *Senators* before the last *War* of *Candy*, they were free; and the Considerations were, either great Services, or the great Dignity of those on whom they bestowed this Honour. Those new Families are divided into those that are called *Ducal Families*, and those that were called simply *New Families*; the Reason of the former designation is not rightly understood; but one that knew all that related to that Constitution particularly well, gave me a good account of it: That which naturally occurs as the Reason of it, is, that all those Families, that are called *Ducal*, have had the *Duke-*  
*dom*,

in their House: But as all the *old Families* have had the same Honour, though they carry not that Title, so some of the *new Families* have also had it, that yet are not called *Ducal*. Others say, that those Families that have had Branches, who have been made *Dukes*, without their being first *Procurators of S. Mark*, or that have been chosen to that Honour, without their pretending to it, are called *Ducal*: But the true Account of this is, that from the Year 1450. to the Year 1620. for a hundred and seventy Years, there was a combination made among those *new Families* to preserve the *Dukedom* still among them: For the *old Families* carrying it high, and excluding the *new Families* from the chief Honours, nineteen of the *new Families* entred into mutual Engagements to exclude the ancient *Nobility*: It is true, they made the *Dukedom* sometimes fall on some of the *new Families* that were not of this Association; but this was more indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were shut out, and that it appeared, that they bore the chief sway in the Election. This Combination was a thing known to the very People, though the *Inquisitors* did all they could to break it, or at least to hide it, so that I never met with it in any of their Authors: But this failed in the Year 1620. when *Memmio* was chosen *Duke*, who was descended of one of the ancient *Nobility*, which was so great a mortification to the *Cafe Ducale*, that one of them (*Veniero*) hanged himself,

himself, by the Rage to which that Disgrace drove him, yet his man came into the Room in time, before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after that in a better mind. Since that time, one of the *Bembo's*, two of the *Cornaro's*, and one of the *Contarini's*, and the present Prince, of the *Justiniani*, the first of that Family that hath had that honour, have been *Dukes*; who are all of the ancient Families: So that this Faction is now so intirely buried, that it is not generally known (even in *Venice* it self) that it was ever amongst them: and thus time, and other *Accidents* bring about happy Events, which no Care nor Industry could produce: For that which all the Endeavours of the *Inquisitors* could not compass, was brought about of it self. It is true, the Factions in *Venice*, though violent enough in the Persons of those who manage them, yet are not derived by them, as an Inheritance to their Posterity, as it was among the *Florentines*, who though they value themselves as a size of Men much above the *Venetians*, whom they despise as a phlegmatick and dull race of People, yet shewed how little they understood with all their vivacity, to conduct their *State*; since by their domestick Heats they lost their Liberty, which the *Venetians* have had the wisdom still to preserve. This Faction of the *Casa Ducale* was perhaps willing to let the matter fall; for they lost more than they got by it; for the Ancient Families in revenge set themselves against them,

and

and excluded them from all the other advantageous Employments of the State. For the others being only united in that single point relating to the *Dukedom*, the Ancient Families let them carry it; but in all other Competitions they set up always such Competitors against the Pretenders, that were of the *Ducal Families*, that were much more esteemed than these were, so that they shut them out of all the best Offices of the *Republick*. Such a Faction as this was, if it had been still kept up, might in Conclusion have proved fatal to their Liberty. It is indeed a Wonder to see, the Dignity of the *Duke* so much courted; for he is only a Prisoner of State, tyed up to such Rules, so severely restrained and shut up as it were in an Apartment of the *Palace of S. Mark*, that it is not strange to see some of the greatest Families, in particular the *Cornaro's* decline it. All the Family, if ever so numerous, must retire out of the *Senate*, when a *Duke* is chosen out of it, only one that is next to him of kin sits still, but without a Vote: And the only Real Privilege that the *Duke* hath, is, that he can of himself, without communicating with the *Savii*, propose matters, either to the *Council of Ten*, to the *Senate*, or to the *Great Council*; whereas all other propositions must be first offered to the *Savii*, and examined by them, who have a sort of *Tribunition* Power to reject what they dislike; and though they cannot hinder the *Duke* to make a Proposition, yet they can mortifie him when he hath

hath made it ; they can hinder it to be voted ; and after it is voted, they can suspend the execution of it till it is examined over again : And a *Duke*, that is of an active Spirit, must resolve to endure many of these Afflictions ; and it is certain, that the *Savii* do sometimes affect to shew the Greatness of their Authority, and exercise a sort of Tyranny in the rejecting of Propositions, when they intend to humble those that make them : yet the greatest part of the best Families court this Honour of *Dukedom* extreamly. When *Sagredo* was upon the point of being chosen *Duke*, there was so violent an Out-cry against it over all *Venice*, because of the Disgrace, that they thought would come on the Republick, if they had a *Prince*, whose Nose had miscarried in some unfortunate Disorders ; the *Senate* complied so far with this Aversion, that the people testified, that tho the *Inquisitors* took care to hang or drown many of the chief of the Mutineers, yet they let the design for *Sagredo* fall : Upon which he was so much disgusted, that he retired to a House he had in the *Terra firma*, and never appeared more at *Venice* ; During which time of his Retirement, he writ two Books, the one *Memorie Ottomaniche*, which is Printed ; and he is accounted the best of all their modern Authors. The other was *Memoires of the Government and History of Venice*, which hath never been Printed ; and some say, it is too sincere, and too particular, so that it is thought it will be reserved among their *Archives*.

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It hath been a sort of Maxim now for some time, not to chuse a married Man to be Duke, for the Coronation of a *Dutchess* goes high, and hath cost above a hundred thousand *Ducats*. Some of the Ancient Families have affected the Title of *Prince*, and have called their branches, *Princes of the Blood*; and though the *Cornaro's* have done this more than any other, yet others upon the Account of some *Principalities*, that their Ancestors had in the *Islands* of the *Archipelago*, have also affected those vain Titles: But the *Inquisitors* have long ago obliged them, to lay aside all those high Titles; and such of them as boast too much of their blood, find the dislike which that brings on them very sensibly; for whensoever they pretend to any great Employments, they find themselves always excluded. When an Election of *Ambassadors* was proposed, or of any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be made in those terms, that the *Council* must chuse one of its *Principal Members* for such an employment: But because this lookt like a term of Distinction among the *Nobility*, they changed it five and twenty years ago; and instead of *Principal*, they use now the term *Honourable*, which comprehends the whole body of their *Nobility*, without any distinction. It is at *Venice*, in the *Church*, as well as in the *State*, that the *Head* of the *Body* hath a great Title; and particular Honours done him; whereas in the mean while this is a meer Pageantry, and under these big words there is lodged only a light shadow

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dow of Authority; for their *Bishop* has the glorious Title of *Patriarch*, as well as the *Duke* is called their *Prince*, and his *Serenity*, and hath his name stampt upon their Coyn; so the *Patriarch* with all this high Title, hath really no Authority: For not only *Saint Mark's Church* is intirely exempted from his jurisdiction, and is immediately subject to the *Duke*, but his Authority is in all other things so subject to the *Senate*, and so regulated by them, that he hath no more power, than they are pleased to allow him: So that the *Senate* is as really the supream Governour over all persons, and in all causes, as the *Kings of England* have pretended to be in their own *Dominions* since the *Reformation*: but besides all this, the *Clergy of Venice* have a very extraordinary sort of Exemption, and are a sort of a body like a *Presbytery* independent of the *Bishop*: The *Curats* are chosen by the Inhabitants of every Parish, and this makes that no *Noble Venetian* is suffered to pretend to any *Curacy*; for they think it below that dignity, to suffer one of their body, to engage in a competition with one of a lower order, and to run the hazard of being rejected. I was told, the manner of those Elections was the most scandalous thing possible; for the several Candidates appear on the day of Election, and set out their own Merits, and defame the other Pretenders in the fowlest Language, and in the most scurrilous manner imaginable; the secrets of all their Lives are publiht in most reproachful terms, and nothing

thing is so abject and ridiculous, that is not put in practice on those occasions: There is a sort of an Association among the *Curats* for judging of their common concerns, and some of the *Laity* of the several Parishes assist in those Courts, so that here is a real *Presbytery*. The great Libertinage, that is so undecently practised by most sorts of people at *Venice*, extends it self to the *Clergy* to such a degree, that though Ignorance and Vice, seem the only indelible Characters, that they carry generally over all *Italy*, yet those appear here in a much more conspicuous manner than elsewhere; and upon these popular elections all comes out. The *Nuns* of *Venice* have been under much scandal for a great while; there are some *Nunnerys* that are as famous for their strictness and exactness to their Rules, as others are for the Liberties they take: chiefly those of *Saint Zachary* and *Saint Laurence*, where none but *Noble Venetians*, are admitted, and where it is not so much as pretended, that they have retired for Devotion; but it is owned to be done meerly, that they might not be too great a Charge to their Family: They are not veiled, their Neck and Breast is bare, and they receive much company: but that which I saw, was in a public Room, in which there were many *Grills* for several Parlors, so that the conversation is very confused; for there being a different company at every *Grill*, and the *Italians* speaking generally very loud, the noise of so many loud Talkers is very disagreeable.

greeable. The *Nuns* Talk much and very ungacefully, and allow themselves a Liberty in rallying that other places could not bear. About four years ago the *Patriarch* intended to bring in a Reform into those Houses, but the *Nuns* of *St. Laurence* with whom he began, told him plainly they were Noble *Venetians* who had chosen that way of Life as more convenient for them, but they would not subject themselves to his Regulations, yet he came and would shut up their House, so that they went to set fire to it; upon which the *Senate* interposed and ordered the *Patriarch* to desist. There is no *Christian State* in the World, that hath expressed a Jealousie of Church-mens getting into the publick *Councils*, so much as the *Venetians*, for as a Noble *Venetian* that goes into Orders, looses thereby his right of going to Vote in the great *Council*, so when any of them are promoted to be *Cardinals*, the whole Kindred and Family must (during their Lives) withdraw from the great *Council*, and are also incapable of all Employments: And by a Clause which they added when they received the Inquisition, which seemed of no great Consequence, they have made it to become a *Court* absolutely subject to them: for it being provided that the *Inquisitors* should do nothing but in the Presence of such as should be Deputed by the *Senate*, to be the Witnesses of their Proceedings, those Deputies

either will not come but when they think fit, or will not stay longer than they are pleased with their proceedings; so that either their absence, or their withdrawing, dissolves the *Court*: for a Citation cannot be made, a Witness cannot be examined, nor the least point of Form carried on, if the Deputies of the *Senate* are not present: and thus it is, that though there is a *Court of Inquisition* at *Venice*, yet there is scarce any Person brought into trouble by it; and there are many of the *Protestant Religion* that live there without any trouble: and though there is a *Congregation* of them there, that hath their exercises of *Religion* very regularly, yet the *Senate* gives them no trouble. It is true, the *Hostys* not being carried about in *Procession*, but secretly by the *Priest* to the Sick, makes that this uneasy discrimination of *Protestant* and *Papist*, doth not offer it self here, as in other places; for the straitness of the Streets, and the Channels through which one must go almost every foot, makes that this could not be done in *Venice* as it is elsewhere; and from *Venice* this Rule is carried over their whole *Territory*, though the like Reason doth not hold in the *Terra Firma*. The *Venetians* are generally ignorant of the matters of *Religion* to a scandal, and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are Strangers to them; so that all that vast pomp in their Ceremonies, and wealth in their Churches, is affected rather as a point of Magnificence, or a matter of Emulation among Families,

milies, than that *Superstition* hath here such a power over the Spirits of the People, as it hath elsewhere: for the *Atheism* that is received by many here, is the dullest, and coursest thing that can be imagined. The young *Nobility* are so generally corrupted in their Morals, and so given up to a most supine Ignorance of all sort of knowledge, that a man cannot easily imagin to what a height this is grown; and for *Military Courage*, there is scarce so much as the Ambition of being thought brave remaining among the greater part of them. It seem'd to me a strange thing, to see the *Broglio*, so full of graceful young *Senators* and *Nobles*, when there was so glorious a *War* on foot with the *Turks*; but instead of being heated in point of Honour to hazard their lives, they rather think it an extravagant piece of Folly, for them to go and hazard it, when a little Money can hire Strangers, that do it on such easie terms; and thus their Arms are in the hands of strangers, while they stay at home managing their Intrigues in the *Broglio*, and dissolving their spirits among their *Courtisans*. And the Reputation of their Service is of late years so much sunk, that it is very strange to see so many come to a service so decryed, where there is so little care had of the *Souldiers*, and so little regard had to the *Officers*: the *Arrears* are so slowly pay'd, and the Rewards are so scanty distributed, that if they do not change their *Maxims*, they may come to feel this very sensibly; for as their Subjects are not acquainted

acquainted with Warlike matters, so their *Nobility*  
 have no sort of Ambition that way, and strangers  
 are extreemly disgusted. It is chiefly to the con-  
 juncture of Affairs that they owe their safety,  
 for the feebleness of all their Neighbours, the  
*Turk*, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, the  
 Pope, and the Duke of *Mantua*, preserves them  
 from the apprehension of an Invasion; and the  
 Quarrels, and Degeneracy of their Subjects,  
 save them from the fears of a Revolt, but a  
 formidable Neighbour would put them hard to  
 it. One great Occasion of the Degeneracy of  
 the *Italians*, and in particular of the *Venetian*  
 Nobility, is a Maxim that hath been taken up  
 for some considerable time, that for the preser-  
 vation of their Families, it is fit that only one of  
 a Family should Marry, to which I will not  
 add that it is generally believed that the Wife  
 is in common to the whole Family: By this  
 means the younger Brothers that have appoint-  
 ments for Life, and that have no Families that  
 come from them, are not stirred up by any Am-  
 bition to signalize themselves or to make Fa-  
 milies, and so they give way to all the Laziness of  
 Luxury, and are quite enervated by it. Where-  
 as the best Services done in other States, flows  
 from the Necessities as well as the Aspirings of  
 younger Brothers or their Families, whose Blood  
 qualifies them to pretend, as well as their Pride  
 and necessities push them on, to acquire first a  
 Reputation, and then a fortune: But all this is a



Mystery to the *Venetians*, who apprehend so much from the active Spirits of a necessitous Nobility, that to lay those to sleep, they encourage them in all those things that may blunt and depress their minds, and Youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves Pleasure, when it is so far from being restrained, that it is rather pushed on to all the Licentiousness of unlimited disorders.

Yet I must add one thing, that tho *Venice*, is the place in the whole World where Pleasure is most studied, and where the Youth have both the greatest Wealth, and the most leisure to pursue it: yet it is the place that I ever saw where true and innocent Pleasure is the least understood, in which I will make a little Digression that perhaps will not be unpleasant. As for the Pleasures of Friendship, or Marriage, they are Strangers to them; for the horrible distrust, in which they all live, of one another, makes, that it is very rare to find a Friend in *Italy*, but most of all in *Venice*: and though we have been told of several Stories of celebrated Friendships there, yet these are now very rare. As for their Wives they are bred to so much ignorance, and they converse so little, that they know nothing but the dull Superstition on Holy-days in which they stay in the Churches as long as they can, and so prolong the little Liberty they have, of going abroad on those days, as Children do their hours of Play: they are not im-

ployed

ployed in their Domestick Affairs, and generally they understand no sort of Work, so that I was told that they were the insipidest Creatures imaginable: they are perhaps as vicious as in other places, but it is among them down right Lewdness; for they are not drawn into it, by the intanglements of *Amour*, that inveigle and lead many persons much farther than they imagined or intended at first; but in them, the first step, without any preamble or preparative, is downright beastliness. And an *Italian* that knew the World well, said upon this matter a very lively thing to me, he said, *their jealousy made them restrain their Daughters, and their Wives so much, that they could have none of those Domestick Entertainments of Wit, Conversation and Friendship, that the French or English have at home*: It is true, those he said hazard a little the Honour of their Families by that Liberty; but the *Italians*, by their excessive Caution, made that they had none of the true Delights of a Married State; and notwithstanding all their uneasy jealousy, they were still in danger of a contraband Nobility; therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little, when it would produce a certain satisfaction, than to watch so anxiously, and thereby have an insipid Companion, instead of a lively Friend, though she might perhaps have some ill moments. As for their Houses, they have nothing convenient at *Venice*; for the *Architecture* is almost all the

same, one Stair-case, a Hall that runs along the Body of the House, and Chambers on both hands; but there are no Apartments, no Closets or Back-stairs; so that in Houses that are of an excessive Wealth, they have yet no sort of convenience; Their Bedsteads are of Iron, because of the Vermin that their moisture produces, the bottoms are of boards, upon which they lay so many Quilts, that it is a huge step to get up to them; their great Chairs are all upright, without a slope in the back, hard in the bottom, and the wood of the Arms is not covered: they mix Water with their Wine in their Hogsheads, so that for above half the year, the Wine is either dead or sour: they do not leaven their bread, so that it is extream heavy, and the Oven is too much heated, so that the Crum is as Dough, when the Crust is as hard as a Stone; in all *Inns* they boil Meat first before it is roasted, and thus as indeed they make it tender, so it is quite tasteless, and insipid: And as for their Land-carriage, all *Lombardy* over, it is extream inconvenient; for their Coaches are fastned to the Pearch, which makes them as uneasy as a Cart: It is true, they begin to have at *Rome*, and *Naples*, Coaches that are fastned to a sort of double Pearch, that runs along the bottom of the Coach of both sides, which are so thin, that they ply to the motion of the Coach, and are extream easy, but those are not known in *Lombardy*; and besides this, their *Caleshes* are open, so that one is exposed to the

the Sun, and Dust in *Summer*, and to the Weather in *Winter* : But though they are covered as ours are, on the other side of the *Appennins*, yet I saw none that were covered in *Lombardy* : and thus by an enumeration of many of the innocent pleasures, and Conveniences of Life, it appears, that the *Venetians* pursue so violently Forbidden Pleasures, that they know not how to find out that which is allowable. Their constant Practises in the *Broglia* is their chief business, where those that are necessitous are suing for employments of advantage, and those that are full of Wealth, take a sort of Pleasure in crossing their Pretensions, and in imbroiling matters. The Walk in which the Nobility tread is left to them, for no others dare walk among them, and they change the side of the Square of St. Mark as the Sun, and the Weather direct them. Perhaps a derivation that Mr. *Pattin* gave me of *Broglia* from the Greek *Peribolain*, a little corrupted is not forced, and since they make all their Parties, and manage all their Intrigues in those Walks, I am apt to think that Broils, Brovillons and Imbroilments are all deriv'd from the Agitations that are managed in those Walks.

As for the last created Nobility of *Venice*, I came to know some particulars that I have not yet seen in any Books, which I suppose will not be unacceptable to you. It is certain, that if the *Venetians* could have foreseen at the beginning of the War of *Candy*, the vast expence in which the

the length of it engaged them, they would have abandoned the Isle, rather than have wasted their Treasure, and debased their Nobility. This last was extream sensible to them; for as the Dignity of the rank they hold is so much the more eminent as it is restrained to a small number, so all the best employments and Honours of the State belonging to this Body, the admitting such a number into it, as must rise out of seventy eight Families, was in effect the sharing their inheritance among so many adopted Brothers. This had been less infamous if they had Communicated that Honour only to the ancient Citizens of *Venice*, or to the Nobility of those States that they have subdued in the *Terra firma*; for as there are many Citizens who are as ancient as the Nobility, only their Ancestors not having to be of that Council that assumed the Government about four hundred years ago, they have not been raised to that Honour, so there had been no infamy in creating some of them to be of the Nobility. It had been also brought under consultation long ago, upon the reduction of those States in the *Terra firma*, whether it was not advisable according to the maxims of the ancient *Romans* to communicate that dignity to some of their chief Families, as being the surest way to give some contentment to those States, it being also a real as well as a cheap Security, when the chief Families in those Cities, were admitted to a share in all the Honours of the Republick.

Republick. It is true some of the Nobility of those States thought they had Honour enough by their Birth, and so *Zambura* of *Brescia* refused to accept an Honour from those that had robbed his Country of its liberty, yet his posterity are now of another mind, for they came and bought in this last sale of honour that which was freely offered to their Ancestor, and was rejected by him. When the Senate found it self extremely pressed for Money during the War, it was at first proposed, that some Families, to the number of five, might be *Enobled*; they offering sixty thousand *Ducats* if they were *Venetians*, and seventy thousand if they were *Strangers*: There was but one Person that opposed this in the *Senate*, so it being passed there, was presented to the *Great Council*; and there it was like to have passed without any difficulty, but one Person opposed it with so much vigor, that though the *Duke* desired him to give over his Opposition, since the Necessities of the War required a great supply, yet he persisted still; and though one of the *Savoi* set forth with Tears the extremities to which the *State* was reduced, he still insisted, and fell upon one Conceit that turned the whole *Council*; he said, they were not sure if five Persons could be found, that would purchase that Honour at such a rate, and then it would be a vast Disgrace, to expose the offer of *Nobility* first to sale; and then to the Affront of finding no Buyers when it was offered to be sold; and by this means he

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put by the Resolution for that time: But then another Method was taken, that was more honourable, and was of a more extended Consequence. *Labia* was the first that presented a Petition to the *Great Council*, setting forth his Merits towards the *Republick*, and desiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thousand *Ducats* toward the service of the *State*: this was understood to be the asking to be made *Noble* at that price. *Delfino* said, he thought every man might be well judged worthy, to offer such an assistance to the Publick, and that such as brought that supply, might expect a suitable acknowledgment from the *Senate*, who might afterwards of their own accord bestow that Honour on those that expressed so much Zeal for the Publick: and this would in some sort maintain that degree, which would be too much debased, if it were thus bought and sold: but it seems the Purchasers had no mind to part with their Money, and to leave the Reward to the Gratitude of the Council, so the Petition was granted in plain terms: and the *Nobility* so acquired was not only to descend to the Children of him that was enobled, but to his Brothers, and the whole Family to such a degree. After *Labia*, a great many more came with the like Petitions, and it was not unpleasant to see in what terms *Merchants*, that came to buy this Honour set forth their Merits, which were, that they had taken care to furnish the *Republick* with such things as were necessary for its preservation.

vation. There was a sort of a *Triumvirat* formed, of a *Jew*, a *Greek*, and an *Italian*, who were the *Brokers*, and found out the *Merchants*: and at last brought down the price from a hundred thousand, to sixty thousand *Ducats*; and no other qualifications were required, if they had money enough: For when *Correge* said to the *Duke*, that he was afraid to ask that Honour for want of *Merit*, the *Duke* asked him, *if he had a hundred thousand Ducats?* and when the other answered, *the Sum was ready*; the *Duke* told him, *that was a great Merit*. At last seventy eight purchas'd this Honour to the great regret of *Labia*: who said that if he had imagined that so many would have followed him in that demand, he would have bid so high for it, that it should have been out of their power to have done it. It is true, many of the Purchasers were Ancient and Noble Families, but many others were not only Merchants, but were of the lowest sort of them; who as they had enriched themselves by Trade, did then impoverish themselves by the acquisition of an Honour that as it obliged them to give over their Trade, and put them in a higher way of living, so it hath not brought them yet in any advantage to Ballance that loss: for they are so much despised, that they are generally excluded when they compete with the Ancient Nobility, tho this is done with that discretion, that the old Families do not declare always against the new, for that would throw the new into a Faction against them, which might be a great prejudice.

prejudice to them, for the new are much more numerous than the old. Another great prejudice that the Republic feels by this great Promotion, is, that the chief Families of the Citizens of *Venice*, who had been long practised in the Affairs of State, and out of whom the Envoys, the Secretaries of State and the Chancellor that is the head of the Citizens, as well as the Duke is the head of the Nobility, are to be chosen, having purchased the chief Honour of the State, there is not now a sufficient number of capable Citizens left for serving the State in those employments; but this defect will be redrest with the help of a little time. But if this encrease of the Nobility, hath lessened the Dignity of the ancient Families, there is a regulation made in this age that still preserves a considerable distinction of Authority in their hands. Crimes against the States, when committed by any of the Nobility, were always judged by the Inquisitors, and the Council of Ten, but all other Crimes were judged by the Council of Forty. But in the Year 1624. one of the Nobles was accused of *Peculatus* Committed in one of their Governments, and the *Avogadore* in the pleading as he set forth his Crime, called him a Rogue and a Robber: yet tho his Crimes were manifest, there being but six and twenty Judges present, twelve only Condemned him, and fourteen Acquitted him, this gave great offence, for tho he was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were evident,

evident, so that his fame could not be restored: for the depositions of the Witnesses, and the *Avogadores* (or the Attorney Generals) charge were heard by the People; so it was proposed to make a difference between the Nobility and the other Subjects; and since all Trials before the Forty were public, and the Trials before the Ten were in secret, it seemed fit to remit the Nobility to be tried by the Ten: Some foresaw that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raise the dignity of the antient Families, of whom the Council of Ten is alwaies composed, too high: therefore they opposed it upon this ground, that since the Council of forty sent out many Orders to the Governors, it would very much lessen their Authority, if they were not to be the Judges of those, who were obliged to receive their Orders: but to qualify this Opposition, a Provision was made, that reserved to the *Council of Forty* a Power to judge of the Obedience that was given to their Orders; but all other Accusations of the Nobility were remitted to the *Council of Ten*: and the Body of the Nobility were so pleased with this distinction, that was put between them and the other Subjects, that they did not see, that this did really enslave them so much the more and brought them under more danger; since those who judge in secret have a freer scope to their Passions, than those whose proceedings are Publick, which is often a very effectual restraint upon the Judges themselves. But the *Council of Ten* being generally  
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in the hands of the great Families; whereas those of all sorts are of the *Council of Forty*, which was the chief *Judicatory* of the *State*, and is much Ancienter than that of *Ten*: it had been much more wisely done of them to have been still Judged by the *Forty*: And if they had thought it for their Honour, to have a difference made in the way of Judging the *Nobility*, and the other *Subjects*, it had been more for their Security, to have brought their Tryals to this, that whereas the *Forty* judge all other Offenders with *Open Doors*, the *Nobility* should be judged the *Doors being shut*, which is a thing they very much desire now, but without any hope of ever obtaining it: For this power of Judging the *Nobility*, is now considered as the Right of the *Ten*; and if any man would go about to change it, the *Inquisitors* would be perhaps very quick with him as a Mover of Sedition, and be, in that case, both Judge and Party; Yet the *Inquisitors* being apprehensive of the distast, that this might breed in the Body of the *Nobility*, have made a sort of Regulation, though it doth not amount to much; which is, that the *Nobility* shall be judged before the *Council of Ten* for atrocious Cases, such as Matters of *State*, the Robbing the Publick, and other enormous Crimes; but that for all other matters, they are to be judged by the *Forty*: yet the *Council of Ten* draws all Cases before them, and none dare dispute with them.

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But this leads me to say a little to you of that part of this *Constitution*, which is so much censured by Strangers; but is really both the greatest Glory, and the chief Security of this *Republick*, which is, *the unlimited Power of the Inquisitors*, that extends not only to the Chief of the *Nobility*, but to the *Duke* himself, who is so subject to them, that they may not only give him severe Reprimands, but search his Papers, make his Process, and in conclusion, put him to death, without being bound to give an Account of their proceedings, except to the *Council of Ten*. This is the Dread not only of all the *Subjects*, but of the whole *Nobility*, and of all that bear Office in the *Republick*, and makes the greatest among them tremble, and so obligeth them to an exact conduct. But tho it is not to be denied that upon some occasions they may have been a little too sudden, particularly in the known story of *Fiescarin*, yet such unjustifiable severities have occurred so seldom, that as the wisdom of this body in making, and preserving such an institution, cannot be enough admired, so the dextrous conduct of those who manage this vast trust so as not to force the body to take it out of their hands, is likewise highly to be wondered at. In short the insolence, the factions, the revenges, the necessities and ambition that must needs possess a great many members of so vast a body as is the *Nobility* of *Venice*, must have thrown them often in-

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to many fatal convulsions, if it were not for the dread in which they all stand of this Court: which hath so many spies abroad, chiefly among the *Gondaliers*, who cannot fail to discover all the secret Commerce of *Venice*: besides the secret advices that are thrown in at so many of those Lyons mouths that are in several places of *St. Mark's Palace*, within which there are Boxes that are under the keys of the Inquisitors, so that it is scarce possible for a man to be long in any design against the State, and not to be discovered by them. And when they find any in fault, they are so inexorable, and so quick as well as severe in the Justice, that the very fear of this is so effectual a restraint, that perhaps the long preservation of *Venice*, and of its liberty, is owing to this single piece of their Constitution: and the Inquisitors are persons generally so distinguished for their merit who must be all of different Families; and their Authority lasts so short a while that the advantages of this vast Authority that is lodged with them are constant and visible; whereas the unhappy instances of their being imposed on, and carrying their suspicions too far, are so few, that whenever the Nobility grows weary of this yoke, and throws it off, one may reckon the Glory and Prosperity of *Venice* at an end. It was terribly attackt not long ago by *Cornaro*, when *Ferona Cornaro*

was put to death for his correspondence with Spain; he was not near akin to the great Family of that name, yet the Family thought their Honour was so much toucht when one of its remotest Branches was condemned of Treason, that they offered a hundred thousand Crowns to have saved him, and by consequence to have preserved the Family from that infamy; but though this was not accepted, for he suffered as he well deserved, yet it was so visible that none of the Family were concerned in his Crimes, that it did not at all turn to their prejudice. But upon the first occasion that offered it self after that, to quarrel with the proceedings of the Inquisitors, they laid hold on it, and aggravated the matter extreamly, and moved for the limiting of their Authority, but the Great Council was wiser then to touch so Sacred a Part of the Government, so they retain their Power very intire; but they manage it with all possible Caution. A Foreigner that hath been many years in their Service, told me, that the Stories with which Strangers were frighted at the Arbitrary Power that was rested in those Inquisitors, were slight things in comparison of the advantages that they found from it, and after eleven years spent in their service, he said, he never was so much as once sent for to receive a Reprimand from them. And if the Nobility, that have any Commerce with Strangers, confess it sincerely to the Inquisitors, they  
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are in no danger by it; but if they conceal it, or any main Circumstances of it, their Process will be soon dispatched. These are the most remarkable things that I could pick up, during my stay at *Venice*. I have avoided to say any thing relating to their several *Councils*, *Officers* and *Judicatories*, or to the other parts of their *Government*, which are to be found in all Books; and the Forms by which they give their *Votes* by *Ballot* are so well known, that it were an abusing of your time, to enlarge my self concerning them; nor was I sufficiently informed, concerning the particulars of the *Sale of Nobility* that is now on foot, since this last War with the *Turks*, which hath made them willing to take up once again this easie way of raising of Money: Nor could I give credit to that of which a person of great Eminence there assured me, that there was a *Poysoner General* in *Venice*, that had a Salary, and was employed by the *Inquisitors* to dispatch those, against whom a publick Proceeding would make too great a noise; this I could not believe, tho my Author protested, that the Brother of one that was solicited to accept of the imployment discovered it to him. There is no place in the World where Strangers live with more freedom; and I was amazed to see so little Exactness among the Searchers of the Custom-house; for though we had a Mullets-load of *Trunks*, and *Portmanteaus*, yet none offered to ask us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us. But the best and Noblest Entertainment that *Venice*

nice afforded while I was there, was the Com-  
 pany of *Mr. de la Haye*, the *French Ambassador*,  
 who as he hath spent his whole life in publick *Em-  
 bassies*, so he hath acquired so great a Knowledge  
 of the World, with so true a Judgment, and so  
 obliging a Civility, that he may well pass for a  
 Pattern; and it is no wonder to see him still in-  
 gaged in a constant succession of publick Employ-  
 ments; and his *Lady* is so wonderful a Person,  
 that I pay them both but a very small part of  
 what I owe them, in this Acknowledgment, which  
 I judge my self bound to make of their extraor-  
 dinary Civilities to me; and indeed, without the  
 Advantage of such a Rendezvous as I had there,  
 a fort-nights stay at *Venice* had been a very tedious  
 matter. From *Venice* we went again to *Padua*;  
 From thence to *Rovigo*, which is but a small Town,  
 and so to the *Po*, which divides the Territory of  
 the *Republick*, from the *Ferrarese*, which is now  
 the *Popes Country*; and here one sees what a diffe-  
 rence a good and a bad Government makes in  
 a Country; for tho the Soil is the same on  
 both sides of the River, and the *Ferrarese* was once  
 one of the beautifullest spots of all *Italy*, as *Ferrara*  
 was one of its best Towns, while they had  
 Princes of their own who for a course of some  
 Ages were Princes of such Eminent vertues, and  
 of so Heroical a Nobleness that they were  
 really the Fathers of their Country, nothing  
 can be imagined more changed than all this is  
 now. The Soil is abandoned, and uncultivated,  
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nor were there hands enough so much as to mow their grass, which we saw withering in their Meadows to our no small wonder. We were amazed to see so rich a Soil forsaken of its Inhabitants, and much more when we passed through that vast Town, which by its extent shews what it was about an Age ago, and is now so much deserted that there are whole sides of Streets without Inhabitants, and the Poverty of the place appears signally in the Churches, which are mean and poorly adorned, for the Superstition of *Italy* is so ravenous, and makes such a progress in this Age, that one may justly take the measures of the Wealth of any place from the Churches. The Superstition or Vanity of this Age is so much beyond that of the past tho the contrary to this is commonly believed that all the vast buildings of great Churches or rich Convents, and the surprizing Wealth that appears in them on Festival days are the Donatives of the present Age; so that it is a vulgar error, that some have taken up, who fancy that Superstition is at a stand, if not in a Decay, unless it be acknowledged that the craft of the Priests hath opened to them a new method to support their riches, when the old ones of Purgatory and Indulgences were become less effectual in an Age of more knowledge, and better enlightned, and that is to engage men to an emulation and a vanity in enriching their Churches, as much as other

*Italians* have in the enriching their Palaces, so that as they have a pleasure as well as a vanity in seeing so much dead Wealth in their Houses, they have translated the same humour to their Churches: and the vanity of the present Age that believes little or nothing of those contrivances of Purgatory, or the like, produceth the same if not greater effects in the building and enriching their Churches and so carries it in expence and prodigality from the Superstition of the former Ages, that believed every thing. But to return to *Ferrara*. I could not but ask all I saw how it came that so rich a Soil was so strangely abandoned, some said the Air was become so unhealthy, that those who stay in it were very short-liv'd; but it is well known that fourscore years agoe it was well peopled; and the ill Air is occasioned by the want of Inhabitants, for there being not People to drain the ground and to keep the Ditches clean, this makes that there is a great deal of water that lies on the ground and rots, which infects the Air in the same manner as is observed in that vast and rich but uninhabited Champaign of *Rome*, so that the ill Air is the effect rather than the cause of the dispeopling of the Popes Dominions. The true cause is the Severity of the Government, and the heavy Taxes, and frequent Confiscations, by which the Nephews of several Popes, as they have devoured many of the Families of *Ferrara*, so they have driven away many

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more. And this appears more visibly, by the different State as well as the Constitution of *Bologna*, which is full of people that abound in Wealth; and as the Soil is extream rich, so it is cultivated with all due care. For *Bologna* delivered it self to the *Popedom* upon a Capitulation, by which there are many Priviledges reserved to it: Crimes there are only punished in the persons of those who commit them; but there are no Confiscations of Estates; and though the Authority, in Criminal matters, belongs to the *Pope*, and is managed by a *Legate* and his Officers; yet the Civil Government, the Magistracy, and the power of Judicature in Civil matters, is intirely in the hands of the *State*: And by this Regulation it is, that as the riches of *Bologna* amazes a Stranger, it neither being on a Navigable River, by which it is not capable of much Trade, nor being the Center of a Sovereignty, where a Court is kept; so the Taxes that the *Popes* fetch from thence are so considerable, that he draws much more from this place of Liberty, than from those where his Authority is unlimited and absolute, but they are by those means almost quite abandoned: for the greatness of a *Prince* or *State* rising from the numbers of the *Subjects*, those Maxims that retain the *Subjects*, and that draw Strangers to come among them, are certainly the truest Maxims for advancing the greatness of the Master. And I could not but with much scorn observe

observe the folly of some *French* Men, who made use of this Argument to shew the Greatness of their Nation, that one found many *French* Men in all places to which one could come, whereas there were no *English* nor *Dutch*, no *Switzers*, and very few *Germans*; but this is just contrary to the right consequence that ought to be drawn from this Observation. It is certain, that few leave their Country, and go to settle elsewhere, if they are not pressed with so much uneasiness at home, that they cannot well live among their Friends and Kindred; so that a *mild Government* drives out no swarms: whereas it is the sure mark of a *severe Government* that weakens it self, when many of the *Subjects* find it so hard to subsist at home, that they are forced to seek that abroad, which they would much rather do in their own Country, if Impositions and other Severities, did not force them to change their Habitations.

But to return to the Wealth of *Bologna*, it appears in every Corner of the Town, and all round it, though it's situation is not very favourable; for it lyes at the foot of the *Appenins*, on the North-side, and is extream Cold in Winter, The Houses are Built as at *Padua* and *Bern*, so that one walks all the Town over, covered under *Piazzo's*; but the walks here are both higher and larger than any where else: there are many Noble Palaces all over the Town, and the Churches and Convents are incredibly rich:

within the 'Town the richest are the Dominicans, which is the chief house of the Order, where their Founders Body is laid in one of the best Chapples of *Italy*: and next to them are the *Franciscans*, the *Servites*, the *Jesuites*, and the *Canons Regular* of *St. Salvator*. In this last there is a Scrowl of the *Hebrew* Bible, which though it is not the tenth Part of the Bible, they fancy to be the whole Bible: and they were made believe by some *Jew*, that hath no doubt sold it at a high rate, that it was written by *Ezrah's* own hand, and this hath past long for current, but the Manuscript is only a fine Copy like those that the *Jews* use in their Synagogues, that may be perhaps three or four hunderd years old: that Part of it on which I cast my Eye was the Book of *Esther* so by the bulk of the Scrowl, I judged it to be the Collection of those small Books of the Old Testament that the *Jews* set after the Law; but those of the House fancy they have a great treasure in it, and perhaps such *Jews* as have seen it are willing to laugh at their ignorance, and so suffer them to go on in their Error. The chief Church in the Town is *St. Petrones*, and there one sees the curious and exact Meridional-line, which that rare *Astronomer Cassini* laid along a great Part of the Pavement in a Brass Circle: it marks the true point of Mid-day from *June* to *January*, and is one of the best performances that perhaps the World

World ever saw. In the great square before the Church, on the one side of which is the *Legates Palace*, among other Statues one surprized me much, it was *Pope Joans*, which is so named by the People of the Town; it is true, the learned Men say, it is the Statue of *Pope Nicolas* the IV. who had indeed a Youthly and womanish face. But as I looked at this Statue very attentively, through a little prospect that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the Face of a young Woman, and was very unlike that of *Pope Nicolas* the IV. which is in *St. Mary Maggiore* at Rome: For the Statue of that Pope, though it hath no beard, yet hath an age in it, that is very much different from the Statue at *Bologna*. I do not build any thing on this Statue; for I do not believe that Story at all; and I my self saw in *England* a Manuscript of *Martinus Polonus*, who is one of the ancient Authors of this matter, which did not seem to be written long after the Authors time, in it this Story is not in the Text, but is added on the margin by another hand. On the Hill above *Bologna* stands the Monastery of *St. Michael* in *Bosco*, which hath a most charming situation and prospect, and is one of the best Monasteries in *Italy*; it hath many Courts, and one that is Cloistered, and is Octangular; which is so nobly painted in *Fresco*, that it is great pity to see such work exposed to the Air: All was retouched by the famous *Guido Reni*, yet it is now again much decayed: The Dormitory is very Magnificent;

the *Chappel* is little, but very fine; and the *Stalls* are richly carved. On the other side of *Bologna*, in the Bottom, the *Carthusians* have also a very rich Monastery: Four miles from *Bologna* there is a *Madona* of Saint *Lukes*; and because many go thither in great Devotion, there is a *Portico* Building, which is already carried on almost half way; It is walled towards the North, but stands on Pillars to the South, and is about twelve foot broad, and fifteen foot high; it is carried on very vigorously; for in eight or ten years the half is built, so that in a little time, the whole will very probably be finished; and this may prove the beginning of many such like *Portico's* in *Italy*; for things of this kind want only a beginning, and when they are once set on foot, they do quickly spread themselves in a Country that is so intirely subdued by *Superstition*, and the Artifices of their *Priests*. In *Bologna* they reckon there are seventy thousand Persons. I saw not one of the chief Glories of this place; for the famous *Malphigius* was out of Town while I was there. I saw a *Play* there, but the *Poesy* was so bad, the *Farces* so rude, and all was so ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to see the Company express so great a Satisfaction in that which would have been his'd off the stage either in *England* or *France*. From *Bologna* we go eight Miles in a Plain, and then we ingage into that range of Hills that carry the name of *Appenins*, though that is strictly given only to one that is the highest: All the way

way to *Florence* this track of Hills continues, though there are several bottoms, and some considerable little Towns in them, but all is up-hill and down-hill, and *Florence* it self, is just at the bottom of the last Hill. The high-ways all along these Hills are kept in so very good case, that in few of the best inhabited Countrys doth one find the High-ways so well maintained, as in those forsaken Mountains: but this is so great a Passage, that all that are concerned in it, find their account, in the expence they lay out upon it. On the last of these Hills, though in a little bottom, in the midst of a Hill, stands *Pratolino*, one of the great *Dukes Palaces*, where the retreat in Summer must be very agreeable; for the Air of those Mountains is extream thin and pure. The *Gardens* in *Italy* are made at a great cost; the *Statues* and *Fountains* are very rich and noble; the Grounds are well laid out; and the Walks are long and even: But as they have no Gravel, to give them those firm and beautiful walks that we have in *England*, so the constant greeness of the Box doth so much please them, that they, preferring the sight to the smell, have their *Gardens* so high fenced by plots made with them, that there is no pleasure to walk in them; they also lay their walks so between Hedges, that one is much confined in them. I saw first in a *Garden* at *Vincenza*, that which I found afterwards in many *Gardens* in *Italy*, which was extream convenient, there went a course of Water round about the Walls, about

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a foot from 'the ground is a Channel of stone, that went along the side of the Wall ; and in this there were holes so made, that a Pipe of white Iron or Wood put to them, conveyed the Water to such plants, as in dry Season, needed watering ; and a Cock set the Water a running in this course, so that without the trouble of carrying Water, one Person could easily manage the watering of a great Garden. *Florence* is a beautiful and noble Town, full of great *Palaces*, rich *Churches* and Stately Convents. The streets are paved in imitation of the old *Roman High-ways*, with great Stone, bigger than our common pavement Stone, but much thicker, which are so hollowed, in their joynings to one another, that Horses find fastning enough to their feet : There are many *Statues* and *Fountains* in the streets, so that in every corner one meets with many agreeable Objects. I will not entertain you with a description of the *great Dukes Palace* and Gardens, or of the old *Palace*, and the *Gallery* that joyns to it, and of the vast Collection of *Pictures*, *Statues*, *Cabinets*, and other Curiosities that must needs amaze every one that sees them : the Plate, and in particular, the Gold Plate, and the great Coach, are all such extraordinary things, that they would require a very copious description, if that had not been done so often, that it were to very little purpose to Copy what others have said : and these things are so exactly seen by every Traveller, that I can say nothing that is more particular of these subjects, than you will find

find in the common *Itineraries* of all Travellers. The great *Dome* is a magnificent building, but the Frontispiece to the great Gate is not yet made. The *Cupulo*, is after *St. Peters*, the greatest and highest that I saw in *Italy*; it is three hundred foot high, and of a vast compass; and the whole *Architecture* of this Fabrick is very singular, as well as regular. Only that which was intended to add to its Beauty, lessened it very much in my thoughts: for the Walls that are all of Marble, being of white and black Marble, laid in different figures and orders, looked too like a Livery, and had not that air of Nobleness which in my opinion becomes so glorious a Fabrick. The *Baptistry*, that stands before it, was a Noble *Heathen* Temple; its *Gates* of Brass, are the best of that sort that are in the World: There are so many *Historys* so well represented in *Bas Reliefs* in them, with so much Exactness, the Work is so natural, and yet so fine, that a curious Man could find entertainment for many days, if he would examine the three *Gates* of this Temple with a critical exactness. The *Annunciata*, *St. Marks*, *St. Croce*, and *S. Maria Novella*, are Churches of great Beauty and vast Riches; but the Church and Chappel of *S. Laurence* exceeds them all, as much in the Riches within, as it is inferiour to them in the outside, which is quite flea'd, (if I may so speak), but on design to give it a rich out-side of Marble. In a Chappel within this Church, the Bodies of the great Dukes lye deposited, till the famous Chappel

is finished. But I was much scandalized to see *Statues with Nudities* here, which I do not remember to have seen any where else in *Churches*. I will not offer at a description of the *Glorious Chappel*, which as it is without doubt, the richest piece of building that perhaps the World ever saw, so it goes on so slowly, that though there are always many at work, yet it doth not seem to advance proportionably to the number of the hands that are employed in it. Among the *Statues* that are to be in it, there is one of the *Virgin's*, made by *Michael Angelo*, which represents her grief at the *Passion* of her Blessed Son, that hath the most life in it of all the *Statues* I ever saw. But the famous *Library*, that belongs to this *Convent*, took up more of my time than all the other *Curiosities* of *Florence*; for here is a collection of many *Manuscripts*, most of them are *Greek*, that were gathered together by *Pope Clements* the VII. and given to his *Country*: there are very few *Printed Books* mixed with them; and those *Books* that are there, are so rare, that they are almost as curious as *Manuscripts*. I saw some of *Virgils Poems* in old *Capitals*. There is a *Manuscript*, in which some parts both of *Tacitus* and *Apuleius* are written, and in one place, one in a different hand had writ, that he had compared those *Manuscripts*; and he adds a date to this in *Olibrius's* time, which is about twelve hundred *Years* ago. I found some *diphthongs* in it cast into one *Letter*, which surprized me; for I thought that way of writing them

them had not been so ancient: but that which pleased me most was, that the *Library-keeper* assured me, that one had lately found the famous *Epistle of St. Chrysostome to Cesarius in Greek*, in the end of a Volume full of other things, and not among the *Manuscripts* of that *Fathers Books*; of which they have a great many. He thought he remembred well the place where the Book stood; so we turned over all the Books that stood near it, but I found it not: he promised to look it out for me, if I came back that way: But I changing my design, and going back another way, could not see the bottom of this. It is true, the famous *Magliabecchi*, who is the *Great Dukes Library-keeper*, and is a Person of most wonderful Civility, and full of Candor, as well as he is learned beyond imagination, assured me, that this could be no other than a mistake of the *Library-keepers*; he said, such a discovery could not have been made, without making so much noise, that he must have heard of it. He added, there was not one man in *Florence*, that either understood *Greek*, or that examined *Manuscripts*; so that he assured me, I could not build on what an ignorant *Library-keeper* had told me: So I set down this matter as I found it, without building much on it. *Florence* is much sunk from what it was; for they do not reckon, that there are above fifty thousand Souls in it: and the other *States*, that were once great *Republicks*, such as *Siena* and *Pisa*, while they retained their Liberty

ty, are now shrunk almost into nothing : It is certain, that all three together, are now not so numerous, as any one of them was two hundred years ago. *Legorn* is full of People, and all round *Florence* there are a great many *Villages*, but as one goes over *Tuscany*, it appears so dispeopled, that one cannot but wonder to find a *Country*, that hath been a Scene of so much Action, and so many *Wars*, now so forsaken, and so poor, and that in many places the Soil is quite neglected for want of hands to cultivate it ; and in other places, where there are more People, they look so poor, and their Houses are such miserable Ruins, that it is scarce accountable, how there should be so much Poverty in so rich a *Country*, which is all over full of *Begars* : and here the stile of Begging was a little altered from what I found it in *Lombardy* ; for whereas there they begged for the sake of *St. Anthony*, here all begged for the *Souls that were in Purgatory* ; and this was the stile in all the other parts of *Italy*, through which I passed. In short ; the dispeopling of *Tuscany*, and most of the *Principalities of Italy*, but chiefly of the *Popes Dominions*, which are more abandoned than any other part of *Italy*, seemed to flow from nothing but the Severity of the *Government*, and the great Decay of *Trade* : For the greatest Trade of *Italy* being in *Silk*, the vast Importation of *Silks* that the *East-India Companies* bring into *Europe*, hath quite ruined all those that deal in this Manufacture : Yet this is not the chief Cause of the  
dispeopling

dispeopling of those rich *Countrys* ; the Severity of the *Taxes* is the true Reason : notwithstanding all that Decay of Trade, the *Taxes* are still kept up. Beside this, the vast Wealth of the *Convents*, where the only People of *Italy* are to be found, that live not only at their Ease, but in great Plenty and Luxury, makes many forsake all sort of Industry, and seek for a retreat in one of those Seats of Pleasure ; so that the People do not increase fast enough to make a new race to come instead of those, whom a hard *Government* drives away. It must needs surprize an unattentive Traveller, to see not only the *Venetian Territory*, which is indeed a rich Country, but the *Bailiages* of the *Switzers*, and the Coast of *Genoa* so full of People, when *Tuscany*, the *Patrimony*, and the *Kingdom of Naples*, have so few Inhabitants. In the Coast of *Genoa* there is for many Miles as it were a constant tract of *Towns* and *Villages*, and all those are well peopled, though they have scarce any Soil at all, lying under the *Mountains*, that are very barren, and that expose them to a most uneasy Sun ; and that they lie upon a boisterous *Sea*, that is almost always in a Storm, and that affords very few fish : and yet the Gentleness of the *Government* draws such multitudes thither, and those are so full of Wealth, that *Money* goes at *two per cent*. But on the other hand, to ballance this a little, so strange and wild a thing is the nature of Man, at least of *Italians*, that I was told, that the worst People of all *Italy* are



are the *Genoveses*, and the most generally corrupted in their Morals, as to all sorts of Vice; so that though a *severe Government* and *Slavery* are contrary to the nature of Man, and to human Society, to *Justice* and *Equity*, and to that essential Equality, that Nature hath made among Men; yet on the other hand, all Men cannot bear that Ease and Liberty that become the Human Nature. The *superstition* of *Italy*, and the great waste of Wealth that one sees in their *Churches*, particularly those prodigious Masses of *Plate*, with which their *Altars* are covered on Holydays, doth also sink their *Trade* extreamly; for Silver, being in Commerce, what Blood is in the Body, when so much of that is dead, and circulates no more, it is no wonder if such an extravasation (if I may use so long and so hard a word) of Silver, occasions a great Deadness in Trade. I had almost forgot one remark, that I made in the last Hill of the *Appenins*, just above *Florence*, that I never saw such tall and big *Cypresses* any where as grew over all that Hill, which seemed a little strange, that Tree being apt to be starved by a cold Winter among us, and there the Winters are severe. All the ways in *Tuscany* are very rugged, except on the sides of the *Arne*. But the uneasiness of the Road is much qualified by the great Care that is had of the High-ways, which are all in very good case: The *Inns* are wretched, and ill furnished both for Lodging and Diet. This is the plague of all *Italy*, when once one

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hath passed the *Appenins* ; for, except in the great Towns, one really suffers so much that way, that the Pleasure of Traveling is much abated by the Inconveniences that one meets in every Stage through which he passes. I am

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*Tours.*

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THE FOURTH  
LETTER.

From *Rome* the 8th of *December*, 1685.

I Am now in the last Stage of my *Voyage* over *Italy* ; for since my last from *Florence*, I have not only got hither, but have been in *Naples* ; and have now satisfied my Curiosity so fully, that I intend to leave this place within a day or two, and go to *Civita Vecchia*, and from thence by *Sea* to *Marselles* ; and so avoid an unpleasant Winters Journey over the *Alps* ; it is true I loose the sight of *Turin*, *Genua*, and some other *Courts* : but though I am told, these deserve well the pains of the Journey ; yet when one rises from a great Meal, no Delicacies, how much soever they might tempt him at another time, can provoke his Appetite : So I confess freely, that the sight of *Naples* and *Rome* have so set my Stomach that way, that the Curiosity of seeing new places, is now

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very low with me ; and indeed, these that I have of late seen are such, that places which at another time would please me much, would now make but a slight and cold Impression.

All the way from *Florence* through the *Great Dukes Country*, looked so sad ; that I concluded, it must be the most dispeopled of all *Italy* : but indeed, I changed my note when I came into the *Popes Territories*, at *Point Centino*, where there was a rich bottom all uncultivated, and not so much as stocked with Cattle : but as I passed from *M. Fiascone* to *Viterbo*, this appeared yet more amazing ; for a vast *Champaign Country* lay almost quite deserted. And that wide *Town*, which is of so great a compass, hath yet so few Inhabitants, and those look so poor and miserable, that the People in the ordinary *Towns* in *Scotland*, and in its worst Places, make a better appearance. When I was within a days Journey of *Rome*, I fancied that the Neighbourhood of so great a *City* must mend the matter ; but I was much disappointed for a Soil that was so rich, and lay so sweetly, that it far exceeded any thing I ever saw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants in it, nor Cattle upon it, to the tenth Part of what it could bear : The surprize that this gave me, increased upon me as I went out of *Rome* on its other side, chiefly all the way to *Naples*, and on the way to *Civita Vecchia* ; for that vast and rich *Champaign Country*, that runs all along to *Terracina*, which from *Civita Vecchia* ; is above a hundred.

a hundred Miles long, and is in many places twelve or twenty Miles broad, is abandoned to such a degree, that as far as ones Eye can carry one, there is often not so much as a house to be seen ; but on the Hills, that are on the North-side of this *Valley*: and by this dispeopling of the Country, the Air is now become so unwholsom, that it is not safe to be a Night in it all the Summer long ; for the Water that lyes upon many places, not being drained, it rots ; and in the Summer this produces so many noisom Steams, that it is felt even in *Rome* it self ; and if it were not for the breezes that come from the *Mountains*, the Air would be intolerable : When one sees all this large, but wast Country, from the Hill of *Marino*, twelve miles beyond *Rome*, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a word, it is the rigour of the *Government* that hath driven away the Inhabitants ; and their being driven away, hath now reduced it to such a pass, that it is hardly possible to repeople it : for such as would come to drain and cultivate it, must run a great hazard, and few can resolve on that, when they can hope for no other Reward of their Industry, but an Uneasy *Government*. It is the greatest Solicisim in *Government* for the *Prince* to be *Elective*, and yet *Absolute* ; for an *Hereditary Prince* is induced to consider his Posterity, and to maintain his People, so that those that come after him may still support the rank which they hold in the World : But an *Elective Prince* hath nothing of

of that in his Eye, unless he hath a pitch of generosity, which is not ordinary among men, and least of all among *Italians*, who have a passion for their Families, which is not known in other places: and thus a *Pope*, who comes in late to this Dignity, which by consequence he cannot hope to hold long, doth very naturally turn to those Councils, by which his Family may make all the Hay they can during this Sun-shine: And though anciently the *Cardinals* were a check upon the *Pope*, and a sort of a *Council*, without whom he could do nothing even in *Temporals*; yet they have now quite lost that; and they have no other share in Affairs, than that to which the *Pope* thinks fit to admit them; so that he is the most *absolute Prince* in *Europe*. It is true, as to *Spirituals*, they retain still a large share, so that in Censures and Definitions the *Pope* can do nothing regularly, without their concurrence; though it is certain, that they have not so good a *Title* to Pretend to that, as to a share in the *Temporal Principality*. For if the *Pope* derives any thing from *St. Peter*, all that is singly in himself, and it is free to him to proceed by what method he thinks best, since the *Infallibility*, according to their pretensions, rests singly in him; yet because there was not so much to be got by acting Arbitrary in those matters, and a Summary way of exercising this Authority, might have tempted the World to have enquired too much into the grounds on which it is built; therefore the *Popes* have let the *Cardinals* retain still a share.

a share in this *Supremacy* over the *Church*, though they have no claim to it, neither by any *Divine* nor *Ecclesiastical* Warrants: But as for the endowments of the *See of Rome*, to which they may justly lay claim, as being in a manner the *Chapter* of that *See*; there is so much to be got by this, that the *Popes* have ingrossed it wholly to themselves: and thus it is, that the *Government* of this *Principality* is very unsteady. Sometimes the *Popes Family* are extreamly glorious, and magnificent; at other times, they think of nothing but of establishing their House: Sometimes the *Pope* is a Man of sense himself; Sometimes he is quite sunk, and as the last *Pope* was, he becomes a Child again through old age: Sometimes he hath a particular Stiffness of Temper, with a great Slowness of Understanding, and an insatiable desire of heaping up Wealth, which is the Character of *him* that now *Reigns*. By this diversity, which appears eminently in every new *Pontificate*, that commonly avoids those Excesses that made the former *Reign* odious, the *Councils* of the *Popedom* are weak and disjoynted. But if this is sensible to all *Europe*, with relation to the general concerns of that Body, it is more visible in the *Principality* it self, that is subject to so variable a Head. There hath been in this *Age* a succession of four ravenous *Reigns*; and though there was a short Interruption in the *Reign* of the *Rospigliosi*, that coming after the *Barberins*, the *Pamphili*, and the *Gighi's*, did not enrich it self; and yet it disordered the *Revenue*, by the vast



vaſt Magnificence in which he reigned, more in twenty nine *Months* time, than any other had done in ſo many *years*. The *Altieri* did, in a moſt ſcandalous manner, raiſe themſelves in a very ſhort and deſpiſed *Reign*, and built one of the Nobleſt *Palaces* in *Rome*. He that Reigns now, doth not indeed raiſe his *Family* avowedly, but he doth not eaſe the People of their *Taxes*: and as there is no Magnificence in his *Court*, nor any public Buildings now carrying on at *Rome*; ſo the many vacant *Caps*, occaſions many empty *Palaces*: and by this means, there is ſo little expence now made at *Rome*, that it is not poſſible for the People to live and pay the *Taxes*, which hath driven, as is believed almoſt a fourth part of the Inhabitants out of *Rome*, during this *Pontificate*. And as the preemption of the *Corn* makes, that there is no profit made by the Owners, out of the cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly to the *Pope*, ſo there are no ways left here of employing ones *Mony* to any conſiderable Advantage; For the public *Banks*, which are all in the *Popes* hand, do not pay in effect *three per cent*, though they pretend to give *four per cent*. of intereſt: The ſettlement is indeed *four per cent*. and this was thought ſo great an advantage, that Actions on the *Popes Bank* were bought at a *hundred and ſixteen the hundred*. But this *Pope* broke through all this, and declared, that he would give all their *Mony* again, unleſs they would pay him *thirty per cent*. for the continuing of this Intereſt; and thus  
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for a hundred *Crowns* Principal, one not only paid at first one hundred and sixteen: but afterwards thirty: in all one hundred six and forty for the hundred, which is almost the half lost: For whensoever the *Pope* will pay them back their Money, all the rest is lost: And while I am here; there is a report, that the *Pope* is treating with the *Genoefes* for Money at *two per cent*; and if he gets it on those terms, then he will pay his Debts: and the Subjects, that have put in Money in this Bank, will by this means, lose six and forty *per cent*; which is almost the half of their Stock. A man of quality at *Rome*, and an eminent *Church-man*, who took me likewise for one of their *Clergy*, because I wore the *Habit* of a *Church-man*, said; that it was a horrible Scandal to the whole Christian World, and made one doubt of the Truth of the *Christian Religion*, to see more Oppression and Cruelty in their Territory, than was to be found even in *Turkey*; though it being in the Hands of *Christ's Vicar*, one should expect to find there the pattern of a mild and gentle *Government*: and how (said he) can a Man expect to find his *Religion* here, where the common Maxims of Justice and Mercy were not so much as known. And I can never forget the lively reflection that a *Roman Prince* made to me upon the folly of all those severe Oppressions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, so they reduce those that are left to such a degeneracy of Spirit by their Necessities, that the *Spaniards*, whose *Dominions* look so big in the *Map*, are now brought

brought so low; and if they had kept still the possession they once had of the *United Netherlands*, they would signifie no more towards their preservation, than their other *Provinces* did; which, by their unskilful conduct, they have both dispeopled and exhausted: Whereas by their losing those *Seven Provinces*, those *States* have fallen upon such wise Notions of Government, and have drawn so much *Wealth*, and such numbers of *People* together, that *Spain* it self was now preserved by them, and was saved in this Age by the loss it made of those *Provinces* in the *last*; and those *States*, that if they had remained subject to *Spain*, would have signified little to its support, did that now much more considerably, by being *Allies*, than they could have done, if they had not shaken off their Yoke.

Indeed, if *Spain* had been so happy as to have such *Viceroy*s, and *Governours*, as it has now in *Naples*, their Affairs could not have declined so fast as they have done. The *Marquis of Carpi*, in his youth intended to have taken so severe a Revenge of an Injury, that he thought the late *King of Spain* did him in an Amour, that he designed the blowing him up by Gun-powder, when he was in the *Council-Chamber*; but that Crime was discovered in time, and was not only forgiven him in consideration of the greatness of his Family, he being the Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*, but after that he was made for several years *Ambassador* at *Rome*: He is now *Viceroy* of *Naples*, and is the only

only Governour of all the Places through which I passed, that is, without exception, beloved and esteemed by all sorts of People; for during the few years of his Ministry, he hath redressed such Abuses that seemed past cure, and that required an Age to correct them: He hath repressed the Insolence of the *Spaniards* so much at *Naples*, that the Natives have no occasion to complain of the haughtiness of their Masters: for he proceeds against the *Spaniards* with no less severity, when they give cause for it, than against the *Neapolitans*: He hath taken the Pay of the Souldiers so immediately into his own care, that they, who before his coming, were half naked, and robbed such as passed on the Streets of *Naples* in day light, are now exactly payed, well disciplined, and so decently cloathed, that it is a pleasure to see them: He examines their Musters also so exactly, that he is sure not to be cheated by false Lists: He hath brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true Exactness: And whereas the Bread was generally too light, he has sent for Loaves out of the several places of the Markets, and weighed them himself; and by some severe Punishments on those that sold the Bread too light, he hath brought this matter to a just Regulation: He hath also brought the Courts of Judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, to Reputation again; and it is believed, he hath Spies to watch in case the trade of Bribes is found to be still going on; He hath fortified the *Palace*, which was before his time so  
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much exposed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a descent upon it. But the two things, that raise his reputation most, are his Extirpating of the *Banditi*, and the Regulation of the *Coin*, which he hath taken in hand.

It is well enough known, what a Plague the *Banditi* have been to the *Kingdom*; for they going in Troops, not only robbed the Country, but were able to resist an ordinary Body of Soldiers, if they had set on them: These travelled about seeking for spoil all the Summer long, but in Winter they were harboured by some of the *Neapolitan Barons*, who gave them Quarters; and thereby did not only protect their own Lands, but had them as so many Instruments ready to execute their Revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at *Naples*, and there was a *Council* that had the Care of the reducing the *Banditi* committed to them, who as they caught some few, and hanged them, so they fined such *Barons* as gave them harbour; and it was believed, that those Fines, amounted to near a hundred and fifty thousand *Crowns* a Year: And thus the Disease went on; only now and then there was a little Blood let, which never went to the bottom of the Distemper. But when the present *Viceroy* entered upon the *Government*, he resolved to extirpate all the *Banditi*; and he first let all the *Barons* understand, that if they harboured them any more, a little Fine would not save them, but that he would proceed against them with the

the utmost severity ; and by this means the *Banditi* could find no Winter Quarters: So they betook themselves to some fastnesses among the Hills, and resolved to make good the Passes, and to accommodate themselves the best they could amidst the Mountains. The *Viceroy* sent a great Body against them, but they defended themselves for some time vigorously, and in one sally they killed five hundred Men: but at last, seeing that they were like to be hard prest, and that the *Viceroy* intended to come against them in Person, they accepted of the terms that he offered them, which was, a pardon for what was past, both as to life and Gallies, and six pence a day for their entertainment in Prison during life, or the *Viceroy's* pleasure ; and so they rendred themselves. They are kept in a large Prison, and now and then, as he sees cause for it, he sends some few of them up and down to serve in *Garrisons*. And thus, beyond all mens expectation, he finished this matter in a very few Months ; and the *Kingdom of Naples*, that hath been so long a scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now so much changed, that in no place of *Europe* do the Subjects enjoy a more entire Security. As for the *Coin*, it, as all the other *Spanish Mony*, is so Subject to Clipping, that the whole *Mony of Naples* is now light, and far below the true value ; so the *Viceroy* hath resolved to redress this: he considers, that the crying down of *Mony*, that passeth upon th public Credit, is a robbing of those



in whose hands the Mony happens to be, when such Proclamations are put out; and therefore he takes a method that is more general, in which every one will bear his share, so that none will be crushed by it. He hath laid some *Taxes* on the whole *Kingdom*, and hath got a great many to bring in some *Plate* to be coyned: and when he hath thus prepared such a quantity, as may serve for the circulation that is necessary, he intends to call in all the old Mony, and to give out new Money for it. Thus doth this *Viceroy* set such a pattern to the other *Ministers* of the Crown of *Spain*, that if many would follow it, the State of their affairs would be soon altered.

The *Kingdom of Naples* is the richest part of all *Italy*; for the very *Mountains*, that are near the half of the Soil, are fruitful, and produce either *Wine* or *Oyl*, in great abundance. *Apulia* is a great *Corn* Country, but it is excessive hot, and in some years all is burnt up. The *Jesuits* are the *Proprietors* of near the half of *Apulia*; and they treat their *Tenants* with the same rigour that the *Barons* of this *Kingdom* do generally use towards their *Farmers*: for the *Commons* here are so miserably oppressed, that in many places they dye of hunger, even amidst the great plenty of their best years; for the *Corn* is exported to *Spain*: but neither the *Spaniards* nor the *Neapolitans* understand Trade so well as to be their own *Merchants* or *Carriers*, so that the *English* do generally carry away the profit of this Trade. The *Oyl* of  
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this *Kingdom* is still a vast Trade, and the *Manner* of the *Wool* and *Soap* of *England*, consumes yearly some thousands of Tuns. The *silk Trade* is so low, that it only serves themselves, but the exportation is inconsiderable: the Sloth and Laziness of this People renders them incapable of making those Advantages of so rich a soil, that a more industrious sort of People would find out: For it amazes a Stranger to see in their little Towns, the whole Men of the Town walking in the Market places in their torn Cloaks, and doing nothing; and though in some big Towns, such as *Capua*, there is but one *Inn*, yet even that is so miserable, that the best Room and Bed in it, is so bad, that our *Footmen* in *England* would make a grievous Out-cry if they were no better lodged; nor is there any thing to be had in them: the Wine is intolerable, the Bread ill Baked, no Victuals, except Pigeons, and the Oyl is rotten. In short, except one carries his whole Provision from *Rome* or *Naples*; he must resolve to indure a good deal of Misery in the four days journey that is between those two places. And this is what a *Traveller*, that sees the Riches of the soil, cannot comprehend: but as they have not hands enough for their soil, so those they have are generally so little employed, that it is no wonder to see their soil produce so little; that in the midst of all that abundance, that Nature hath set before them, they are one of the poorest Nations of *Europe*. But besides this which I have named, the

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vast and dead Wealth that is in the hands of the *Churchmen*, is another evident cause of their misery. One that knew the State of this *Kingdom* well, assured me, that if it were divided into *five parts*, upon a strict survey, it would be found, that the *Church-men* had *four parts* of the five: which he made out thus, they have in *Soil* above the half of the whole, which is two and a half; and in *Tithes*, and Gifts, and *Legacies*, they have one and a half more: for no Man dieth without leaving a considerable Legacy to some *Church* or some *Convent*. The Wealth that one sees in the *City of Naples* alone, passeth imagination; there are four and twenty *Houses* of the Order of the *Dominicans*, of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the *Franciscans*, seven of the *Jesuites*; besides the *Convents*, of the *Olivetans*, the *Theatines*, the *Carmelites*, the *Benedictines*; and above all, for situation and riches, the *Carthusians*, on the top of the Hill that lieth over the *Town*. The riches of the *Annunciata* are prodigious: It is the greatest *Hospital* in the World; the *Revenue* is said to be four hundred thousand *Crowns* a Year: the number of the Sick is not so great as at *Milan*: Yet one convenience for their Sick I observed in their Galleries, which was considerable, that every Bed stood as in an *Alcove*, and had a Wall on both sides, separating it from the Beds on both hands, and as much void space of both sides of the Bed, that the Bed it self took up but half the Room. The young Children that they maintain  
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are so many, that one can hardly believe the numbers that they boast of; for they talk of many thousands that are not seen, but are at Nurse: a great part of the wealth of *this House* goeth to the enriching their *Church*, which will be all over within crusted with inlayings of lovely Marble, in great variety and beauty of colours: The *Plate* that is in the *Treasury* here and in the *Dome*, (which is but a mean building, because it is ancient, but hath a Noble Chappel, and a vast Treasure) and in a great many other *Churches*, are so prodigious, that upon the modestest estimate, the *Plate* of the *Churches* of *Naples* amounts to eight millions of *Crowns*. The new *Church* of the *Jesuites*, that of *S. John the Apostle*, and that of *S. Paul*, are surprizingly rich; the gilding and painting that is on the *Roofs* of those *Churches* have cost millions: And as there are about a hundred *Convents* in *Naples*, so every one of these, if it were in another place, would be thought well worth seeing, though the riches of the greater *Convents* here, make many of them to be less visited. Every year there is a new *Governour* of the *Annunciata*, who perhaps puts in his own Pocket twenty thousand *Crowns*; and to make some Compensation when he goeth out of Office, he giveth a vast piece of *Plate* to the House, a *Statue* for a Saint in *Silver*, or some *Closet* of a *Candlestick*; for several of those pieces of plate are said to be worth ten thousand *Crowns*; and thus all the *Silver* of *Naples* becomes dead and

useless: The Jesuites are great Merchants here; their *Wine-Cellar* is a vast Vault, and holds above a thousand *Hogsheads*; and the best *Wine* of *Naples* is sold by them; yet they do not retail it out so scandalously as the *Minims* do, who live on the great square before the *Viceroy's Palace*, and sell out their *Wine* by retail: they pay no *Duty*, and have extraordinary good *Wine*, and are in the best Place of the *Town* for this retail. It is true, the *Neopolitans* are no great Drinkers, so the Profits of this Tavern are not so great as they would be in colder Countries; for here Men go only in for a draught in the Mornings, or when they are a thirst. Yet the *House* groweth extremely rich, and hath one of the finest *Chappels* that is in all *Naples*; but the Trade seems very unbecoming Men of that Profession, and of so strict an Order. The *Convents* have a very particular privilege in this *Town*; for they may buy all the *Houses* that lye on either side, till the first street that discontinueth the *Houses*; and there being scarce a street in *Naples* in which there is not a *Convent*, by this means they may come to buy in the whole *Town*: And the progress that the Wealth of the *Clergy* makes in this *Kingdom* is so visible, that if there is not some stop put to it, within an Age they will make themselves Masters of the whole *Kingdom*: It is an amazing thing to see so profound an ignorance, as reigns among the *Clergy*, prevail so effectually; for though all the *Secular Persons* here, speak of them with all

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possible scorn, yet they are the Masters of the Spirits of the People. The Women are infinitely Superstitious, and give their husbands no rest; but as they draw from them great presents to the Church. It is true, there are Societies of Men at Naples of freer thoughts than can be found in any other place of Italy: the Greek Learning begins to flourish there, and the new Philosophy is much studied; and there is an Assembly that is held in D. Joseph Valleta's Library (where there is a vast Collection of well chosen Books) composed of Men that have a right taste of true Learning and good Sense: They are ill looked on by the Clergy, and represented as a set of Atheists, and as the Spawn of Pomponatius's School: But I found no such thing among them; for I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with a considerable number of them, during the short stay that I made among them: There is a learned Lawyer, Francisco Andria, that is considered as one of the most inquisitive Men of the Assembly: There is also a Grandchild of the Great Alciat, who is very curious as well as learned. Few Churchmen come into this attempt for the reviving of Learning among them: On the contrary, it is plain, that they dread it above all things. Only one Eminent Preacher, Rinaldi, that is Archdeacon of Capua, associates himself with them: he was once of the Jesuits Order, but left it; and as that alone served to give a good Character of him to me, so upon a long conversation with him, I found a great



many other things that possessed me with a high value for him. Some *Physicians* in *Naples* are brought under the Scandal of *Atheism*; and it is certain, that in *Italy*, Men of searching understandings, who have no other Idea of the *Christian Religion*, but that which they see received among them, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it quite; for they believing it all alike in gross, without distinction, and finding such notorious Cheats as appear in many parts of their *Religion*, are upon that induced to disbelieve the whole. The Preaching of the *Monks* in *Naples* are terrible things. I saw a *Jesuit* go in a sort of a Procession, with a great company about him, and calling upon all that he saw, to follow him to a place where a *Mountebank* was selling his *Medicines*, near whom he took his Room, and entertained the People with a sort of a *Farce*, till the *Mountebank* got him to give over; fearing least his action should grow tedious, and disperse the Company that was brought together. There are no famous Preachers, nor Men of any reputation for learning among the *Jesuits*: I was told, they had not Men capable to teach their *Schools*; and that they were forced to hire Strangers: The Order of the *Oratory* hath not that reputation in *Italy*, that it hath gained in *France*; and the little Learning that is among the *Clergy* in *Naples*, is among some few *Secular Priests*.

The new Method of *Molino's* doth so much prevail in *Naples*, that it is believed, he hath above twenty thousand Followers in this City: And since this hath made some noise in the World, and yet is generally but little understood, I will give you some account of him: He is a *Spanish Priest*, that seems to be but an ordinary *Divine*, and is certainly a very ill Reasoner, when he undertakes to prove his Opinions: He hath writ a Book, which is intituled, *il Guida Spirituale*, which is a short abstract of the *Mystical Divinity*; the Substance of the whole, is reduced to this, That in our Prayers, and other Devotions, the best Methods are to retire the mind from all gross Images, and so to form an Act of Faith, and thereby to present our selves before God: and then to sink into a silence and cessation of new Acts, and to let God act upon us, and so to follow his Conduct: This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new Acts, and different forms of Devotion; and he makes small Account of corporal Austerities, and reduces all the Exercises of Religion to this simplicity of Mind: He thinks this is not only to be proposed to such as live in Religious Houses, but even to Secular persons, and by this he hath proposed a great Reformation of Mens Minds and Manners; He hath many Priests in Italy, but chiefly in *Naples*, that dispose those who confess themselves to them, to follow his Method: The *Jesuites* have set themselves much against this conduct, as foreseeing, that it may much weaken

the *Empire* that *Superstition* hath over the Minds of People, that it may make *Religion* become a more plain and simple thing, and may also open a door to *Enthusiasms*: they also pretend, that his conduct is *Factionous* and *Seditious*; that this may breed a *Schism* in the *Church*. And because he saith, in some places of his Book, *That the Mind may rise up to such a Simplicity in its Acts, that it may rise in some of its Devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Christ*, they have accused him, as intending to lay aside the Doctrine of *Christ's Humanity*; though it is plain, that he speaks only, of the purity of some single Acts: Upon all those heads, they have set themselves much against *Molinos*; and they have also pretended, that some of his Disciples have infused into their Penitents, *That they may go and communicate as they find themselves disposed, without going first to Confession*; which they thought weakened much the yoke, by which the *Priests* subdue the Consciences of the People to their Conduct: Yet he was much supported both in the *Kingdom of Naples* and in *Sicily*; he had also many Friends and Followers at *Rome*. So the *Jesuites*, as a *Provincial* of the Order assured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own force, got a great King, that is now extreamly in the Interests of their Order, to interpose, and to represent to the *Pope* the danger of such Innovations. It is certain, the *Pope* understands the matter very little, and

and that he is possessed with a great opinion of *Molino's* Sanctity ; yet upon the Complaints of some *Cardinals*, that seconded the Zeal of that *King*, he and some of his Followers were clapt in the *Inquisition*, where they have been now for some Months, but they are still well used, which is believed to flow from the good opinion that the *Pope* hath of him, who saith still, that though he may have erred, yet he is certainly a good man : Upon this Imprisonment, *Pasquin* said a pleasant thing, in one week, *one man* had been Condemned to the Gallies for somewhat he had said, another had been hanged for somewhat he had writ, and *Molinos* was clapt in Prison, whose Doctrine consisted chiefly in this, that *men ought to bring their minds to a state of inward quietness*, from which the name of *Quietists* was given to all his followers : The *Pasquinade* upon all this, was, *Si parliamo, in Galere, si scrivemmo Impiccati, si stiamo in quiete all' Sant' Officio, e che bisogna fore: If we speak, we are sent to the Gallies ; if we write, we are hanged ; if we stand quiet, we are clapt up in the Inquisition : what must we do then?* Yet his Followers at *Naples* are not daunted, but they believe, he will come out of this Tryal victorious.

The City of *Naples*, as it is the best situated, and in the best Climate, so it is one of the Noblest Cities of *Europe* ; and if it is not above half as big as *Paris* or *London*, yet it hath much more beauty than either of them: The Streets are large

large and broad, the Pavement is great and Noble, the Stones being generally above a foot square, and it is full of Palaces, and great Buildings: The Town is well supplied by daily Markets, so that Provisions are ever fresh, and in great plenty; the Wine is the best of *Europe*; and both the Fish and Flesh is extream good: it is scarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a fresh Air comes, both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The *Viceroy's Palace* is no extraordinary Building, only the Stair-case is great: But it is now very richly furnished within, in *Pictures* and *Statues*: There are in it some *Statues* of the *Egyptian Deities* of *Touchstone*, that are of great value: There are no great Antiquities here, only there is an Ancient *Roman Portico*, that is very Noble, before *Saint Pauls Church*. But without the City near the *Church* and *Hospital* of *Saint Gennaro*, that is without the Gates, are the Noble *Catacombs*: which because they were beyond any thing I saw in *Italy*, and to which the *Catacombs* of *Rome* are not to be compared, and since I do not find any account of them, in all the Books that I have yet seen concerning *Naples*, I shall describe them more particularly.

They are vast and long *Galleries* cut out of the *Rock*: there are three Stories of them one above another. I was in two of them, but the *Rock* is fallen in the lowest, so that one cannot go into it, but I saw the passage to it: These *Galleries* are generally about twenty foot broad, and

and about fifteen foot high: so that they are Noble and spacious Places, and not little and narrow as the *Catacombs* at *Rome*, which are only three or four foot broad, and five or six foot high. I was made believe, that these *Catacombs* of *Naples* went into the *Rock* nine mile long; but for that I have it only by report: Yet if that be true, they may perhaps run toward *Pozzolo*, and so they may have been the burial places of the *Towns* on that *Bay*; but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way, and found *Galleries* going off on all hands without end, and whereas in the *Roman Catacombs* there are not above three or four rows of *Niches*, that are cut out in the *Rock* one over another, into which the *dead Bodies* were laid; here there are generally six or seven rows of those *Niches*, and they are both larger and higher; some *Niches* are for *Childrens Bodies*; and in many places there are in the *Floors*, as it were great Chests hewn out of the *Rock*, to lay the bones of the dead as they are dried, in them; but I could see no marks either of a cover for these holes, that looked like the bellies of Chests, or of a facing to shut up the *Niches* when a dead Body was laid in them; so that it seems they were monstrous unwholesome and stinking places, where some thousands of *Bodies* lay rotting, without any thing to shut in so loathsome a sight, and so odious a smell: For the *Niches* shew plainly, that the *Bodies* were laid in them only wrapt in the  
dead



dead Cloaths, they being too low for Coffins. In some places of the *Rock* there is as it were a little *Chappel* hewen out in the *Rock*, that goes off from the common Gallery, and there are *Niches* all round about; but I saw no marks of any Wall, that shut in such places; though I am apt to think, these might be burying places appropriated to particular Families. There is in some places on the Walls and Arch, Old *Mosaic Work*, and some Painting, the Colours are fresh, and the Manner and Characters are *Gothick*, which made me conclude, that this might have been done by the *Normans*, about six hundred years ago, after they drove out the *Saracens*: In some Places there are Palm-trees painted, and Vines in other places. The freshness of the Colours shews these could not have been done while this place was imployed for burying; for the Steams and Rottemness of the Air, occasioned by so much Corruption, must have dissolved both Plaister and Colours. In one place, there is a *Man* painted with a little Beard, and *Paulus* is written by his Head: there is another reaching him a Garland, and by his Head *Laud* is written, and this is repeated in another place right over against it. In another place I found a Cross painted, and about the upper part of it these Letters J.C. X. O. and in the lower part N J K A. are painted: A learned *Antiquary*, that went with me, agreed with me, that the manner of the Painting and Characters did not seem to be above six hundred years

years old: but neither of us knew what to make of these Letters: the lower seemed to relate to the last word of the *Vision*, which it is said that *Constantine* saw with the *Cross* that appeared to him: But though the first two Letters might be for *Jesus*, it being ordinary in old Coins and Inscriptions to put a C. for an S. and X. stands for *Christ*, yet we knew not what to make of the O, unless it were for the Greek *Theta*, and that the little Line in the botom of the *Theta* was worn out, and then it stands for *Theos*; and thus the whole Inscription is, *Jesus Christ God overcometh*. Another Picture in the Wall had written over it *Sanctus Johannes*, which was a clear sign of a barbarous Age: In another place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and three Pictures under it, that at top, had no Inscription; those below it, had these Inscriptions, *St. Catharina*, *St. Agape*, and *St. Margarita*, these Letters are clearly modern; besides that, *Margaret* and *Katherine* are modern names: and the addition of *ta* a little above the S. were manifest evidences, that the highest Antiquity that can be ascribed to this Painting, is six hundred years. I saw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the darkness, and the thick Air of the place, so I stayed not above an hour in the *Catacombs*. This made me reflect more particularly on the *Catacombs of Rome*, than I had done; I could imagine no reason why so little mention is made of those of *Naples*, when there is so much said concerning those of *Rome*; and

and could give my self no other account of the matter, but that it being a maxime to keep up the reputation of the *Roman Catacombs*, as the *Repositories* of the *Reliques* of the primitive *Christians*, it would have much lessened their credit, if it had been thought, that there were *Catacombs* far beyond them in all respects, that yet cannot be supposed to have been the work of the primitive *Christians*; and indeed, nothing seems more evident, than that these were the common *Burying Places* of the ancient *Heathens*. One enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the *Laws* of the twelve *Tables*, and such are the *Catacombs of Rome* that I saw, which were those of *St. Agnes* and *St. Sebastian*, the entry into them being without the Town; this answers the Law, though in effect they run under it; for in those days, when they had not the use of the *Needle*, they could not know which way they carried on those works, when they were once so far engaged under ground, as to lose themselves. It is a vain imagination to think, that the *Christians*, in the primitive times, were able to carry on such a work; for as this prodigious digging into such *Rocks* must have been a very visible thing by the Mountains of Rubbish that must have been brought out, and by the vast number of Hands that must have been employed in it; so it is absurd to think, that they could hold their *Assemblies* amidst the annoyance of so much corruption. I found the Steams so strong,  
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that though I am as little subject to Vapors as most men, yet I had all the day long after I was in them, which was not near an hour, a Confusion, and as it were a boiling in my Head, that disordered me extreamly; and if there is now so much *stagnating Air* there, this must have been sensible in a more eminent and insufferable manner while there were vast numbers of bodies rotting in those *Niches*. But besides this improbability, that presents it self from the nature of the thing, I called to mind a passage of a *Letter of Cornelius*, that was *Bishop of Rome*, after the middle of the *third Century*, which is preserved by *Eusebius* in his sixth *Book*, Chapter 43. in which we have the State of the *Church of Rome* at that time set forth. There were forty six *Presbyters*, seven *Deacons*, as many *Subdeacons*, and ninety four of the *Inferior Orders* of the *Clergy* among them: there were also fifteen hundred *Widows*, and other poor maintained out of the public *Charities*. It may be reasonably supposed, that the numbers of the *Christians* were as great when this *Epistle* was writ, as they were at any time before *Constantine's* days; for as this was writ at the end of that long *Peace*, of which both *St. Cyprian* and *Lactantius* speak, that had continued above a hundred years; so after this time, there was such a succession of *Persecutions*, that came so thick one upon another, after short intervals of quiet, that we cannot think the numbers of the *Christians* increased much beyond what they were at this time.

time. Now there are two particulars in this State of the *Clergy*, upon which one may make a probable estimate of the numbers of the *Christians*; the one is, their *Poor*, which were but *fifteen hundred*: now upon an exact survey, it will be found, that where the poor are well looked to, their number rises generally to be the *thirtieth* or *fortieth* part of mankind: and this may be well believed to be the proportion of the *Poor* among the *Christians* of that Age: For as their Charity was vigorous and tender, so we find *Celsus*, *Julian*, *Lucian*, *Prophery*, and others, object this to the *Christians* of that time, that their Charities to the *Poor* drew vast numbers of the lower sort among them, who made themselves *Christians*, that they might be supplied by their Brethren: So that this being the State of the *Christians* then, we may reckon the *Poor* the thirtieth Part, and so fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty, produce five and forty thousand: And I am the more inclined to think, that this rises up near to the full sum of their numbers, by the other Character of the numbers of the *Clergy*; for as there were forty six *Presbyters*, so there were ninety four of the inferiour Orders, who were two more than double the number of the *Priests*: and this was in a time in which the Care of Souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted Ages, the *Clergy* having then really more work on their hands, the instructing of their *Catechumens*, the visiting their Sick, and the supporting and com-  
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forting the Weak, being Tasks that required so much application, that in so vast a City as Rome was in those days, in which it is probable the *Christians* were scattered over the City, and mixed in all the Parts of it, we make a conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon, that every *Presbyter* had perhaps about a thousand Souls committed to his Care, so this rises to six and forty thousand: which comes very near the sum that may be gathered from the other hint, taken from the number of their *Poor*. So that about *fifty thousand* is the highest account to which we can reasonably raise the numbers of the *Christians of Rome* in that time: And of so many persons, the Old, the Young, and the Women, make more than three fourth Parts; so that men that were in condition to work, were not above *twelve thousand*: and by consequence, they were in no condition to undertake and carry on so vast a Work. If *Cornelius* in that Letter speaks of the numbers of the *Christians* in excessive terms, and if *Tertulian* in his Apology hath also set out the numbers of the *Christians* of his time, in a very high strain, that is only to be ascribed to a pompous Eloquence, which disposeth people to magnifie their own Party, and we must allow a good deal to a Hyperbole, that is very natural to all that set forth their Forces in general terms. It is true, it is not so clear when those vast Cavities were dug out of the Rocks. We know, that when the *Laws* of the twelve Tables were made, Sepulture was



was then in use: and *Rome* being then grown to a vast bigness, no doubt they had *Repositories* for their *Dead*: so that since none of the *Roman Authors* mention any such work, it may not be unreasonable to Imagine, that these Vaults had been wrought and cut from the first beginnings of the *City*, and so the later Authors had no occasion to take notice of it. It is also certain, that though *Burning* came to be in use among the *Romans*, yet they returned back to their first Custom of *Burying* Bodies long before *Constantines* time; so that it was not the *Christian Religion* that produced this change. All our modern Writers take it for granted, that the change was made in the times of the *Antonins*: yet there being no Law made concerning it, and no mention being made in an Age full of Writers, of any Orders that were given for *Burying-places*, *Velferus's* opinion seems more probable, that the Custom of *Burning* wore out by degrees; and since we are sure, that they once *buried*, it is more natural to think, that the *Slaves* and the meaner sort of People were still *Buried*, that being a less expenceful, and a more simple way of bestowing their Bodies, than *Burning*, which was both pompous and chargeable; and, if there were already *Burying places* prepared, it is much easier to imagin how the Custom of *Burying* grew Universal without any Law made concerning it.

I could not for some time find out upon what grounds the *Modern Criticks* take it for granted,

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that Burying began in the times of the *Antonins*, till I had the happiness to talk of this matter with the learned *Gronovius*, who seems to be such a Master of all the Antient Learning, as if he had the Authors lying always open before him: he told me, that it was certain, the change from *Burning* to *Burying*, was not made by the *Christian Emperours*; for *Macrobius* (lib. 7. chap. 7.) says, in plain terms, that the Custom of *Burning* the Bodies of the Dead, was quite worn out in that age: which is a clear Intimation, that it was not laid aside so late as by *Constantine*; and as there was no Law made by him on that head, so he and the succeeding *Emperours*, gave such an entire toleration to *Paganism*, admitting those of that Religion to the greatest Employments, that it is not to be imagined, that there was any order given against *Burning*; so that it is clear, the *Heathens* had changed it of their own accord: otherways we should have found that among the Complaints that they made of the Grievances under which they lay from the *Christians*. But it is more difficult to fix the time when this change was made. *Gronovius* shewed me a passage of *Phlegons*, that mentions the Bodies that were laid in the Ground; yet he did not build on that; for it may have relation to the customs of *Burying* that might be else where. And so *Petronius* gives the account of the *Burial* of the *Ephesian Matrons husband*: but he made it apparent to me, that *Burying* was commonly practised in *Commodus's* time

time ; for *Xiphilinus* tells us, that in *Pertinax's* time the Friends of those whom *Commodus* had ordered to be put to Death, had dug up their Bodies, some bringing out only some parts of them, and others raising their entire Bodies. The same Author also tells us, that *Pertinax* buried *Commodus's* body, and so saved it from the Rage of the People, and here is a positive Evidence, that *Burying* was the common practise of that time. The same learned Person has since my first conversation with him upon this subject, suggested to me two passages of *Festus Pompeius*, that seem to determine this whole matter ; and that tell us, by what names those *Catacombs* were known in the *Roman* time, whereabouts they were, and what sort of Persons were laid in them ; we have also the designation by which the bearers were commonly known, and the time when they carried out the Dead Bodies : and it appears particularly by them, that in the *Repositories*, of which that author makes mention, there was no care taken to preserve the Bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His words are. *Puticulus antiquissimum genus sepulturae appellatus, quod ibi in puteis sepelirentur homines: qualis fuerit locus quo nunc cadavera projici solent, extra portam Esquilinam: quae quod ibi putescerent, inde prius appellatus existimas puticulus Aelius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuisse, ut patres familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancipia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea putescerent, nomen esse factum puticuli.* The o-

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ther passage runs thus. *Vespæ & Vespillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non à minutis illis volucris, sed quia vespertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees so exactly to the thoughts, that a general view of those Repositories give a Man, that it will not be hard to persuade him, that those *Burying places*, that are now graced with the pompous title of *Catacombs*, are no other than the *Putecoli* mentioned by *Festus Pompeius*, where the meanest sort of the *Roman slaves* were laid, and so without any further care about them were left to rot.

It is true, it is very probable, that as we see some of the *Roman Families* continued to *Bury* their Dead, even when *Burning* was the more common Custom; so perhaps others continued after this to burn their dead, the thing being Indifferent, and no Law being made about it; and therefore it was particularly objected to the *Christians* after this time, that they abhorred the Custom of *Burning* the Bodies of the Dead, which is mentioned by *Minutius Felix*; but this or any other evidences, that may be brought from *Medals* of Consecrations after this time, will only prove, that some were still Burnt, and that the *Christians* practised *Burying* Universally, as expressing their belief of the Resurrection; whereas the *Heathens* held the thing Indifferent. It is also clear, from the many genuine *Inscriptions* that have been found in the *Catacombs*, which bear the

the dates of the *Consuls*, that these were the common *Burial-Places* of all the *Christians* of the *fourth* and *fifth* Century; for I do not remember, that there is any one date that is Antienter; and yet not one of the *Writers* of those *Ages* speak of them, as the Work of the *Primitive Christians*. They speak indeed of the *Burial-Places* of the *Martyrs*; but that will prove no more, but that the *Christians* might have had their *Quarters*, and their *Walks* in those common *Burial-Places*, where they laid their *Dead*, and which might have been known among them, though it is not likely, that they would in times of *Persecution* make such *Inscriptions* as might have exposed the *Bodies* of their dead *Friends* to the *Rage* of their *Enemies*. And the *Spurious Acts* of some *Saints* and *Martyrs*, are of too little credit to give any support to the common Opinion. *Damascus's Poetry* is of no better Authority. And though those *Ages* were inclined enough to give credit to *Fables*, yet it seems this of those *Catacombs*, having been the work of the *Primitive Christians*, was too gross a thing to have been so early Imposed on the World. And this silence in an *Age*, in which *Superstition* was going on at so vast a Work, as those *Catacombs* are, must have been well known to all the *Romans*. It were easy to carry this much further, and to shew, that the *Bas Reliefs*, that have been found in some of those *Catacombs*, have nothing of Beauty of the Ancient *Roman* time. This is also more discernable in many

*Inscriptions*

*Inscriptions* that are more *Gothick* than *Roman*; and there are so many *Inscriptions* relating to Fables, that it is plain, these were of latter times; and we see by *Saint Jerom*, that the *Monks* began, even in his time, to drive a trade of *Reliques*; so it is no wonder, that to raise the credit of such a heap, as was never to be exhausted, they made some miserable *Sculptures*, and some *Inscriptions*; and perhaps shut up the entrys into them with much care and secrecy, intending to open them upon some Dream or other Artifice, to give them the more Reputation, which was often practised in order to the drawing much Wealth and great Devotion, even to some single *Relique*; and a few being upon this Secret, either those might have dyed, or by the many Revolutions that hapned in *Rome*, they might have been dispersed before they made the discovery: And thus the knowledge of those places was lost, and came to be discovered by accident in the last Age, and hath ever since supplied them with an inexhaustible *Magazin* of *Bones*, which by all appearance are no other than the *Bones* of the *Pagan Romans*; which are now sent over the World to feed a Superstition, that is as blind as it proves expensive. And thus the *Bones* of the *Roman Slaves*, or at least, those of the meaner sort, are now set in *Silver* and *Gold*, with a great deal of other costly Garniture, and entertain the *Superstition* of those who are willing to be deceived, as well as they serve the ends of those that seek to de-



ceive the World. But because it cannot be pretended, that there was such a number of *Christians* at *Naples*, as could have wrought such *Catacombs*, and if it had been once thought, that those were the common *Burial-places* of the ancient *Heathens*, that might have induced the World to think, that the *Roman Catacombs* were no other; therefore there hath been no care taken to examine these. I thought this deserved a large discourse, and therefore I have dwelt perhaps a little too long on this subject.

I will not enter upon a long description of that which is so well known, as *Mont Vesuvio*, it had roared so loud about a *month* before I came to *Naples*, that at *Naples* they could hardly sleep in the *Nights*, and some old Houses were so shaken by the *Earthquake*, that was occasioned by this convulsion of the Hill, that they fell to the ground: And the great Convulsion above *fifty years* ago, was so terrible, that there was no small fear in *Naples*, though it lyes at the distance of *seven Miles* from the Hill, yet the Storm was choaked under ground; for though it smoakt much more than ordinary, yet there was no eruption: It was indeed *smoaking* not only in the mouth of the little *Mount*, that is formed within the great wast that the fire hath made, but also all along the bottom that is between the outward mouth of this *Mountain* (which is four miles in compass) and that inward *Hill*. When one sees the Mouth of this fire, and so  
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great a part of the Hill which is covered some foot deep with ashes and stones of a metallick Composition, that the fire throws out, he cannot but stand amazed, and wonder what can be the Fuel of so lasting a Burning, that hath calcined so much matter, and spewed out such prodigious quantities. It is plain, there are vast *Veins* of *Sulphur* all along in this Soil, and it seems in this *Mountain* they run along through some *Mines* and *Rocks*; and as their slow consumption produceth a perpetual smoak, so when the Air within is so much rarified that it must open it self, it throws up those masses of *Mettle* and *Rock* that shut it in; but how this *Fire* draws in *Air* to nourish its Flame, is not so easily apprehended, unless there is either a conveyance of Air underground, by some undiscovered vacuity, or a more insensible transmission of *Air*, through the pores of the *Earth*. The heat of this Hill operates so much upon the Soil, that lies upon it towards the foot of it, that it produceth the richest Wine about *Naples*, and it also purifieth the Air so much, that the *Village* at the bottom is thought the best *Air* of the *Country*, so that many come from *Naples* thither for their health. *Ischia*, that is an *Island* not far from *Naples*, doth also sometimes spew out fire.

On the other side of *Naples* to the West, one passeth through the *Cave* that pierceth the *Pausa-lippe*, and is four hundred and forty paces long; for I walked it on foot to take its true measure;

it is twenty foot broad, and at first forty foot high, but afterwards it is but twenty foot high; the *Stone* cut out here is good for building; so that as this opened the way from *Puzzoli* to *Naples*, it was also a *Quarry* for the building of this *Town*: All along the way here, one discovers a strange boyling within the ground; for a little beyond the *Grot* of *Pausalippe*, as we come near the *Lake* of *Aniano*, there is of the one Hand, a *Bath*, occasioned by a *Steam* that riseth so hot out of the ground, that as soon as one goeth a little into it, he finds himself all over in a sweat, which is very proper for some *Diseases*, especially that which carries its name from *Naples*: And about twenty paces from thence, there is another little *Grot*, that sends out a *Poysonous Steam*, that as it puts out a Candle, as soon as it cometh near it, so it infallibly killeth any living Creature within a minute of time; for in half that time a *Dog*, upon which the Experiment is commonly try'd (the *Grot* being from thence called *Grotto di Cane*) fell into a Convulsion. From that one goeth to see the poor Rests of *Puzzoli*, and of all that *Bay*, that was once all about, a tract of *Towns*, it having been the retreat of the *Romans*, during the heats of the Summer. All the *Rarities* here, have been so often, and so copiously described, that I am sensible I can add nothing to what is so well known. I will say nothing of the *Amphitheater*, or of *Cicero* and *Virgils* Houses, for which there is nothing but a dubious tradition; they are Ancient Brick Buildings

Buildings of the *Roman* way, and the Vaults of *Virgil's House* are still intire: The *Sulfatara* is a surprizing thing; here is a bottom, out of which the force of the Fire, that breaks out still in many places, in a thick steaming smoke, that is full of *Brimstone*, did throw up about a hundred and fifty years ago, a vast quantity of Earth, which was carried above three miles thence, and formed the Hill called *Monte Novo*, upon the Ruins of a Town, that was overwhelmed with this Eruption, which is of a very considerable height; they told me, that there was before that time a *Channel*, that went, from the *Bay* into the *Lake of Averno*, of which one sees the beginnings in the *Bay* at some distance from the shore, it carrieth still the name of *Julio's Mole*, and is believed to have been made by *Julius Caesar*. But by the swelling of the ground upon the Eruption of the *Sulfatara*, this passage is stopt, and the *Averno* is now fresh Water; it is eighteen fathom deep. On the side of it is that amazing *Cave*, where the *Sybil* is said to have given out her *Inspirations*: the hewing it out of the *Rock*, hath been a prodigious Work; for the *Rock* is one of the hardest Stones in the World, and the *Cave* goeth in seven hundred foot long, twenty foot broad, and as I could guess, eighteen foot high: and from the end of this great *Gallery*, there is a narrow passage of three foot broad, two hundred foot long, and seven high, to a little apartment, to which we go in a constant sloping descent

from the great *Cave*; here are three little Rooms, in one of them there are some Rests of an Old *Mosaick*, with which the Walls and Roof were laid over; there is also a Spring of Water, and a *Barth*, in which it is supposed the *Sybil* bathed her self; and from this *Cave* it is said, that there runs a *Cave* all along to *Cuma*, which is three long miles, but the passage is now choakt by the falling in of the *Rock* in several places: This piece of *Work* amazed me. I did not much mind the popular opinion that is easily received there, that all this was done by the *Devil*; the marks of the Chizzel in all the parts of the *Rock* sheweth, that this is not a work of Nature. Certainly they had both much leisure, and many hands at their command who set about it; and it seems to have been wrought out with no other design, but to subdue the People more intirely to the conduct of the *Priests* that managed this *Imposture*; so busie and industrious hath the Ambition and Fraud of the *Priests* been in all *Ages*, and in all Corrupt *Religions*. But of all the Scenes of Noble Objects that present it self in the *Bay* of *Puzzolo*, the Rests of *Caligula's Bridge* are the most amazing; for there are yet standing eight or ten of the *Pillars* that supported the *Arches*, and of some of the *Arches*, the half is yet intire. I had not a line with me to examine the depth of the Water where the furthest of those *Pillars* is built; but my *Water-man* assured me, it was fifty Cubits. I have since my being in *Naples*, instructed

structed one that was going thither in this particular, and have received this account from him; that he had taken care to plum the water at the furthest pillar of *Caligula's bridge*, on the *Puzzolo* side; and found it was seven fathom and a half deep: but he adds, that the Watermen assured him, that on the other side before *Baia*, the water was twenty six fathom deep: but as he had not a plummet long enough to try that, so he believed a good deal ought to be abated; for the Watermen had assured him, that the Water was ten fathom deep on the *Puzzoli* side, though upon tryal he found it was only seven and a half: and by this measure one may suppose that the water is twenty fathom deep on the other side: so that it is one of the most astonishing things that one can think of, that *Pillars of Brick* could have been built in such a depth of water.

This I cannot believe, but it is certainly so deep that one can scarce imagin how it was possible to build in such a depth, and for the carrying off of the Sea, that seems yet more impossible. It is a Noble *Monument* of the profuse and extravagant Expence of a *Brutal Tyrant*, who made one of the vastest *Bridges* that ever was attempted, over three or four Miles of *Sea*: meerly to sacrifice so great a Treasure to his Vanity: As for *Agripina's Tomb*, it is no great matter, only the *Bas Reliefs* are yet intire. The marvellous *Fish-Pond* is a great Basin of Water, wrought like a huge *Temple*, standing upon eight and forty



great *Pillars*, all hewed out of the *Rock*; and they are laid over with four crusts of the old Plaster, which is now as hard as stone; this is believed to be a work of *Nero's*: and about a quarter of a mile from thence, there is another vast work, which goeth into a *Rock*; but at the entrance there is a Noble *Portico* built of *Pillars of Brick*; and as one enters into the *Rock*, he finds a great many rooms regularly shaped, hewed out of the *Rock*, and all covered over with Plaster, which is still intire, and so white, that one can hardly think that it hath not been washed over since it was first made; there are a vast number of those Rooms, they are said to be a hundred; from whence this *Cave* carrieth the name of the *Centum Camerae*: This hath been as expensive a work as it is useles; it is intituled to *Nero*, and here they say he kept his *Prisoners*. But there is nothing in all this *Bay* that is both so curious and so useful as the *Baths*, which seem to flow from the same reason that is the cause of these *Eruptions* in the *Vesuvio* and *Sulfatara*, and the *Grottos* formerly mentioned, that as this heat makes some *Fountains* there to be *boiling hot*, so it sends up a *steam* through the *Rock*, that doth not break through the pores of the Stone where it is hard; but where the *Rock* is soft and spongy, there the steams come through with so melting a heat, that a man is soon, as it were, dissolved in sweat; but if he stoops low in the passages that are cut in the *Rock*, he finds no heat, because there  
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the Rock is hard. Those *Steams*, as they are all *Hot*, so they are impregnated with such *Minerals* as they find in their way through the *Rock*; and near this *Bath* there are *Galleries* hewed out of the *Rock*, and faced with a building; in which there are, as it were, *Bedsteads* made in the *Walls*, upon which, those that come thither, to sweat for their health, lay their *Quilts* and *Bed-cloaths*, and so come regularly out of their sweats.

It is certain, that a man can no where pass a day of his life, both with so much pleasure, and with such advantage, as he finds in this journey to *Puzzoli*, and all along the *Bay*: but though anciently this was all so well built, so peopled, and so beautifully laid out, yet no where doth one see more visibly what a change *Time* brings upon all places: for *Naples* hath so intirely eat out this place, and drawn its *Inhabitants* to it, that as *Puzzoli* it self is but a small *Village*, so there is now no other in all this *Bay*, which was anciently built almost all round; for there were seven big *Towns* upon it. Having thus told you what I found most considerable in *Naples*, I cannot pass by that Noble remnant of the *Via Apia*, that runs along thirty miles of the *Way* between it and *Rome*, without making some mention of it: this *High-way* is twelve foot broad, all made of huge *Stones*, most of them blew, and they are generally a foot and half large of all sides: the strength of this *Cause-way* appears in its long  
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duration, for it hath lasted above eighteen hundred *Years*; and is in most places for several miles together, as intire as when it was first made: and the Botches that have been made for mending such places, that have been worn out by time, shews a very visible difference between the ancient and the modern way of paving. One thing seems strange, that the way is level with the earth on both sides: whereas so much weight as those *Stones* carry, should have sunk the ground under them by its pressure: Besides, that the Earth, especially in low grounds, receives a constant increase chiefly by the dust which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills, both which Reasons should make a more sensible difference between those *Ways* and the Soil on both sides: and this makes me apt to believe, that anciently those Ways were a little raised above the level of the ground, and that a course of so many Ages hath now brought them to an equality: Those ways were chiefly made for such as go on foot: for as nothing is more pleasant, than to walk along them, so nothing more inconvenient for Horses and all sorts of Carriage; and indeed *Mules* are the only Beasts of burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beats all Horses after they have gone it a little while. There are several Rests of *Roman Antiquities* at the Mole of *Cajeta*; but the *Isle of Caprea*, now called *Crapa*, which is a little way into the Sea off from *Naples*, gave me a strange Idea of *Tiberius's*

*berius's* Reign, since it is hard to tell, whether it was more extraordinary, to see a *Prince* abandon the best Seats and Palaces of *Italy*, and shut himself up in a little *Island*, in which I was told, there was a tradition of seven little *Palaces* that he built in it ; or to see so vast a Body as the *Roman Empire* so governed by such a *Tyranical Prince*, at such a distance from the chief Seat, so that all might have been reversed long before that the News of it could have been brought to him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in Story, than to see so vast a *State*, that had so great a sense of liberty, subdued by so brutal, and so voluptuous a *Man* as *Anthony*, and so raw a *Youth* as *Augustus* ; so the wonder is much improved, when we see a *Prince* at a hundred and fifty *Miles* distance, shut up in an *Island*, carry the *Reins* of so great a *Body* in his hand, and turn it which way he pleased.

But now I come to *Rome*, which as it was once the *Empress* of the *World*, in a succession of many Ages, so hath in it at present more *curious things* to entertain the attention of a *Traveller*, than any other place in *Europe*. On the side of *Tuscany*, the entry into *Rome* is very surprizing to Strangers ; for one cometh along for a great many miles, upon the remains of the *Via Flaminia*, which is not indeed so entire as the *Via Appia* ; yet there is enough left to raise a just Idea of the *Roman Greatness*, who laid such *Causeways* all *Italy* over. And within the Gate of the  
Porta

*Porta di Populo*, there is a Noble *Obelisk*, a vast *Fountain*, two fine little *Churches*, like two twins, resembling one another, as well as placed near one another, and on several hands one sees a long *Vista* of Streets. There is not a *Town* in these parts of the World, where the *Churches*, *Convents*, and *Palaces* are so Noble, and where the other Buildings are so mean; which indeed discovers very visibly the Misery under which the *Romans* groan. The *Churches of Rome* are so well known, that I will not adventure on any description of them, and indeed, I had too transcient a view of them, to make it with that degree of exactness which the subject requires. *S. Peters* alone would make a big Book, not to say a long Letter. Its length, height, and breadth are all so exactly proportioned, and the eye is so equally possessed with all these, that the whole, upon the first view, doth not appear so vast as it is found to be upon a more particular attention: and as the four Pillars, upon which the *Cupulo* rises, are of such a prodigious bigness, that one would think they were strong enough to bear any superstructure whatsoever; so when one climbs up to the top of that vast height, he wonders what Foundation can bear so huge a weight; for as the *Church* is of a vast height, so the *Cupulo* rises four hundred and fifteen big steps above the *Roof* of the *Church*. In the height of the Concave of this *Cupulo*, there is a representation, that though it can hardly be seen from

from the floor below, unless one hath a good sight, and so it doth not perhaps give much scandal, yet it is a gross indication of the *Idolatri* of that *Church*; for the *Divinity* is there pictured as an *ancient man* compassed about with *Angels*. I will say nothing of the great *Altar*, of the *Chair* of *S. Peter*; of the great *Tombs*, of which, the three chief are *Paul* the III. *Urban* the VIII. and *Alexander* the VII. nor of the vast *Vaults* under this *Church*, and the *Remains* of *Antiquity* that are reserved in them: nor will I undertake a description of the adjoining *Palace*, where the painting of the *Corridori*, and of many of the *Rooms*, by *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo* are so rich, that one is sorry to see a work of that value laid on *Fresco*, and which must by consequence wear out too soon, as in several places it is almost quite lost already. I could not but observe in the *Sala Regia*, that is before the famous *Chappel* of *Sisto V.* and that is all painted in *Fresco*, one corner that represents the *Murder* of the renowned *Admiral Chastillon*, and that hath written under it those words, *Rex Colinii necem probat*: The vast length of the *Gallery* on one side, and of the *Library* on another, do surprize one; the *Gardens* have many *Statues* of a most excessive value, and some good *Fountains*; but the *Gardens* are ill maintained both here, and in the *Palace* on the *Quirinal*. And indeed, in most of the *Palaces* of *Rome*, if there were but a small cost laid out to keep all in good case, that



is brought together at so vast a charge, they would make another sort of shew, and be looked at with much more pleasure. In the Apartments of *Rome* there are a great many things that offend the sight: The *Doors* are generally mean, and the *Locks* meaner, except in the *Palace of Prince Borghese*, where as there is the vastest collection of the best *Pieces*, and of the hands of the greatest Masters that are in all *Europe*, so the *Doors* and *Locks* give not that distast to the eye, that one finds elsewhere. The *Flooring* of the *Palaces* is all of *Brick*, which is so very mean, that one sees the disproportion that is between the *Floors* and the rest of the *Room*, not without a sensible perception and dislike. It is true, they say, their *Air* is so cold and moist in *Winter*, that they cannot pave with *Marble*; and the heat is sometimes so great in *Summer*, that *Flooring* of *Wood* would crack with heat, as well as be eat up by the *Vermin* that would nestle in it. But if they kept in their great *Palaces* servants to wash their *Floors*, with that care that is used in *Holland*, where the *Air* is moister, and the *Climate* is more productive of *Vermine*, they would not find such effects from wooden floors, as they pretend. In a word, there are none that lay out so much *Wealth* all at once, as the *Italians* do, upon the building and finishing of their *Palaces* and *Gardens*, and that afterwards bestow so little on the preserving of them: another thing I observed in their *Palaces*; there

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is indeed a great series of Noble *Rooms* one within another, of which their Apartments are composed; but I did not find, at the end of the Apartments, where the Bed-Chamber is, such a disposition of Rooms for Back-stairs, Dressing-rooms, Closets, Servants Rooms, and other Conveniences as are necessary for accommodating the Apartment. It is true, this is not so necessary for an apartment of State, in which *Magnificence* is more considered than Convenience; but I found the same want in those Apartments in which they lodged; so that notwithstanding all the Riches of their *Palaces*, it cannot be said, that they are well lodged in them; and their *Gardens*, are yet less understood, and worse kept than their *Palaces*. It is true, the *Villa Borghese* ought to be excepted, where, as there is a prodigious collection of *Bas Reliefs*, with which the Walls are, as it were, covered all over, that are of a vast value; so the *Statues* within, of which some are of *Porphiry*, and others of *Touchstone*, are amazing things: The whole ground of this *Park*, which is about three miles in compass, and in which there are six or seven *Lodges*, are laid out so sweetly, that I thought I was in an *English Park*, when I walked over it. The *Villa Pamphilia* is better situated upon a higher ground, and hath more *Water-works*, and twice the extent of the other in Soil, but neither doth the *House* nor *Statues* approach to the Riches of the other, nor are the grounds so well laid out and so well kept. But  
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for the Furniture of the *Palaces* of *Rom*, the publick Apartments are all covered over with *Pictures*; and for those Apartments in which they lodge, they are generally furnished either with red Velvet, or red Damask, with a broad gold Galloon at every breadth of the stuff, and a gold Fringe at top and bottom; but there is very little *Tapistry* in *Italy*.

I have been carried into all this digression, from the general view, that I was giving you of the *Popes Palace*. I named one part of it, which will ingage me into a new digression, as it well deserves one, and that is, the *Library* of the *Vatican*. The Case is great, but that which is lodged in it, is much greater; for here is a Collection of *Books* that filleth a mans eye: There is first a great *Hall*, and at the end of it there runs out on both sides, two *Galleries* of so vast a length, that though the half of them is already furnished with *Books*, yet one would hope that there is room left for more new Books than the World will ever produce. The *Heidelbergh Library* stands by it self, and filleth the one side of the *Gallery*, as the *Duke of Urbins Library* of *Mannscripts* filleth the other. But though these last are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of such Antiquity as those of *Heidelbergh*. When it appeared that I was come from *England*, King *Henry the VIII's Book* of the *Seven Sacraments*, with an Inscription writ upon it with his own Hand to *Pope Leo* the X. was shewed me; together with a Collection of some *Letters* that he  
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writ to *Anna Bolen*, of which some are in *Englisk*, and some in *French*. I, that knew his *Hand* well, saw clearly that they were no *Forgeries*. There are not many *Latin Manuscripts* of great *Antiquity* in this *Library*; some few of *Virgil's* I saw writ in *Capitals*. But that which took up almost half of one day that I spent at one time in this place, related to the present dispute that is on foot between *Mr. Schelstrat* the *Librarykeeper*, and *Mr. Maimbourg*, concerning the *Council of Constance*. The two Points in debate are the Words of the *Decree* made in the *fourth Session*, and the *Popes Confirmation*. In the *fourth Session*, according to the *French Manuscripts*, a *Decree* was made, subjecting the *Pope*, and all other Persons whatsoever, to the *Authority of the Council*, and to the *Decrees* it was to make, and to the *Reformation* it intended to establish both in the *Head* and the *Members*; which as it implies, that the *Head* was corrupted, and needed to be reformed, so it sets the *Council* so directly above the *Pope*, that this *Session* being confirmed by the *Pope*, putteth those who assert the *Popes Infallibility* to no small straits: For if *Pope Martin*, that approved this *Decree*, was *infallible*, then this *Decree* is good still; and if he was *not infallible*, no other *Pope* was *infallible*. To all this *Schelstrat* answers from his *Manuscripts*, that the words of a *Reformation in Head and Members*, are not in the *Decree* of that *Session*; and he did shew me several *Manuscripts*, of which two were evidently writ during the sitting of the *Council*, and were not at all dashed,  
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in which these words were not. I know the hand and way of writing of that *Age* too well to be easily mistaken in my judgment, concerning those *Manuscripts*; but if those words are wanting, there are other words in them that seem to be much stronger for the *superiority* of the *Council* above that *Pope*. For it is *Decreed*, that *Popes*, and all other persons, were bound to submit to the Decisions of the *Council*, as to *Faith*: which words are not in the *French Manuscripts*: Upon this I told *Mr. Schelstrat*, that I thought the words in these *Manuscripts* were stronger than the other, since the word *Reformation*, as it was used in the time of that *Council*, belonged chiefly to the Correcting of Abuses, it being often applied to the *Regulations* that were made in the *Monastick Orders*, when they were brought to a more exact Observation of the *Rules* of their *Order*: So though the *Council* had *Decreed* a *Reformation* both of *Head* and *Members*, I do not see that this would import more, than that the *Papacy* had fallen in some *Disorders* that needed a *Reformation*: and this is not denied, even by those who assert the *Popes Infallibility*: but a submission to points of *Faith*, that is expressly asserted in the *Roman Manuscripts*, is a much more positive Evidence against the *Popes Infallibility*: and the word *Faith* is not capable of so large a sense as may be justly ascribed to *Reformation*. But this difference, in so main a point between *Manuscripts* concerning so late a transaction, gave me an occasion to reflect on the  
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vast uncertainty of *Tradition*, especially of matters that are at a great distance from us ; when those that were so lately transacted, are so differently represented in *Manuscripts*, and in which, both those of *Paris* and *Rome*, seem to carry all possible evidences of sincerity. As for the *Popes* confirmation of that *Decree*, it is true, by a *General Bull*, Pope *Martin* confirmed the *Council of Constance* to such a period ; but besides that, he made a particular *Bull*, as *Schelfstrat* assured me, in which he enumerated all the *Decrees* that he confirmed, and amongst those, this *Decree* concerning the *Superiority* of the *Council* is not named ; this seemed to be of much more importance, and therefore I desired to see the *Original* of the *Bull* ; for there seems to be just reasons to apprehend a *Forgery* here : He promised to do his endeavours, tho he told me, that would not be easie ; for the *Bulls* were strictly kept ; and the next day when I came, hoping to see it, I could not be admitted : but he assured me, that if that had not been the last day of my stay at *Rome*, he would have procured a *Warrant* for my seeing the *Original* : so this is all I can say as to the authenticity of that *Bull* : But supposing it to be genuine, I could not agree to Mr. *Schelfstrat*, that the *General Bull of Confirmation*, ought to be limited to the other, that enumerates the particular *Decrees* : but since that particular *Bull* was never discovered till he hath found it out, it seems it was secretly made, and did not pass according to the *Forms* of the *Consistory* ; and was a fraudulent thing,



thing, of which no noise was to be made in that Age, and therefore in all the Dispute that followed in the *Council of Basil*, between the *Pope* and *Council*, upon this very point, no mention was ever made of it by either side; and thus it can have no force, unless it be to discover the Artifices and Fraud of that *Court*: That at the same time in which the necessity of their Affairs obliged the *Pope* to confirm the *Decrees* of the *Council*, he contrived a secret *Bull*, which in another Age might be made use of, to weaken the Authority of the *General Confirmation* that he gave: and therefore a *Bull*, that doth not pass in due Form, and is not promulgated, is of no Authority; and so this pretended *Bull* cannot limit the other *Bull*. There were some other things, relating to this Debate, that were shewed me by Mr. *Schellstrat*; but these being the most important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large Account of the *Learned Men* at *Rome*, *Bellori* is deservedly famous for his knowledg of the *Greek* and *Egyptian Antiquities*, and for all that belongs to the *Mythologies*, and *Superstitions* of the *Heathens*, and hath a *Closet* richly furnished with things relating to those matters. *Fabretti* is justly celebrated for his Understanding of the *Old Roman Architecture* and *Fabricks*. *Padre Fabri* is the chief Honour of the *Jesuites College*, and is much above the common Rate both for *Philosophy*, *Mathematicks* and *Church History*. And he to whom I was the most obliged Abbot *Nazari*, hath so general a view of the several

veral parts of *Learning*, tho he hath chiefly applyed himself to *Philosophy* and *Mathematicks*, and is a Man of so ingaging a Civility, and used me in so particular a manner, that I owe him, as well as those others whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the Honour to see, all the acknowledgments of esteem and gratitude that I can possibly make them.

One sees in *Cardinal d' Estré* all the advantages of a high birth, great Parts, a generous Civility, and a measure of knowledge far above what can be expected from a Person of his rank; but as he gave a Noble Protection to one of the *most learned Men* that this Age hath produced, Mr. *Launmo*, who lived many years with him, so it is visible, that he made a great progress by the conversation of so extraordinary a person; and as for *Theological Learning*, there is now none of the *College* equal to him. *Cardinal Howard* is too well known in *England* to need any character from me: The elevation of his present condition hath not in the least changed him; he hath all the sweetness and gentleness of temper that we saw in him in *England*, and he retains the unaffected Simplicity and Humility of a *Fryer*, amidst all the Dignity of the *Purple*, and as he sheweth all the generous care and concern for his *Country-men* that they can expect from him; so I met with so much of it, in so many obliging marks of his goodness for my self, that went far beyond a common civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge

ledge it. I was told, the *Popes Confessor* was a very extraordinary man for the *Oriental Learning*, which is but little known in *Rome*: He is a Master of the *Arabick Tongue*, and hath writ, as *Abbot Nazari* told me, the learnedst *Book* against the *Mahometan Religion*, that the World hath yet seen, but is not yet Printed: He is not so much esteemed in *Rome* as he would be elsewhere; for his Learning is not in vogue; and the *School Divinity* and *Casistical Learning*, being that for which *Divines* are most esteemed there; he whose Studies lead him another way, is not so much valued as he ought to be; and perhaps the small account that the *Pope* makes of *Learned Men*, turns somewhat upon the *Confessor*; for it is certain, that this is a *Reign* in which *Learning* is very little encouraged.

Upon the general Contempt that all the *Romans* have, for the present *Pontificate*, one made a pleasant reflection to me, he said, Those *Popes* that intended to raise their *Families*, as they saw the censure that this brought upon them, so they studied to lessen it by other things, that might soften the Spirits of the *People*. No man did more for beautifying *Rome*, for finishing *St. Peters*, and the *Library*, and for furnishing *Rome* with *Water*, than *Pope Paul* the V. though at the same time he did not forget his *Family*; and though the other *Popes*, that have raised great *Families*, have not done this to so eminent a degree as he did, yet there are many remains of their Magnificence; whereas

whereas those *Popes* that have not raised *Families*, have it seems thought that alone was enough to maintain their Reputation, and so they have not done much, either to recommend their *Government* to their *Subjects*, or their *Reign* to *Posterity*; and it is very plain, that the *present Pope* taketh no great care of this. His life hath been certainly very innocent, and free of all those publick Scandals that make a noise in the World: and there is at present a regularity in *Rome*, that deserveth great commendation; for publick Vices are not to be seen there: His personal *Sobriety* is also singular. One assured me, that the Expence of his *Table* did not amount to a *Crown* a day, though this is indeed short of *Sisto V.* who gave order to his *Steward*, never to exceed five and twenty *Bajoicks*, that is, *eighteen pence* a day, for his *Diet*. The *Pope* is very careful of his Health, and doth never expose it, for upon the least disorder, he shuts himself up in his Chamber, and often keepeth his Bed for the least indisposition many days; but his *Government* is severe, and his *Subjects* are ruined.

And here one thing cometh into my mind which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the *Poverty* of a *Nation*, not only dispeoples it, by driving the People out of it, but by weakning the natural fertility of the *Subjects*; for as men and women well cloathed, and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual Labour, and with the tearing Anxieties that Want brings with it, must be much more lively,

lively, than those that are pressed with Want; so it is very likely, that the one must be much more disposed to propagate, than the other: and this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the *Fruitfulness* of *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, with the *Barenness*, that reigns over all *Italy*. I saw two extraordinary instances of the copious productions of *Geneva*; Mr. *Tronchin*, that was *Professor of Divinity*, and *Father* to the *Judacious* and worthy *Professor* of the same name, that is now there, dyed at the age of seventy six *Years*, and had an hundred and fifteen *Persons* all alive, that had either descended from him, or by marriage with those that descended from him called him *Father*. And Mr. *Calendrin*, a pious and laborious *Preacher* of that *Town*, that is descended from the *Family* of the *Calendrini*; who receiving the *Reformation* about a hundred and fifty *years* ago, left *Lucca* their Native *City* with the *Turretini*, the *Diodati*, and the *Bourlamachi*; and some others that came and settled at *Geneva*: He is now but seven and fourty *years* old, and yet he hath a hundred and five *Persons* that are descended of his *Brothers* and *Sisters*, or married to them; so that if he liveth but to *Eighty*, and the *Family* multiplyeth as it hath done, he may see some hundreds that will be in the same relation to him; but such things as these are not to be found in *Italy*.

There is nothing that delights a stranger more in *Rome*, than to see the great *Fountains* of *Water*, that are almost in all the corners of it: That old

*Aqueduct*

*Aqueduct* which *Paul* the V. restored, cometh from a collection of *Sources*, five and thirty miles distant from *Rome*, that runs all the way upon an *Aqueduct* in a *Channel* that is vaulted, and is liker a *River* than a *Fountain*: It breaketh out in five several *Fountains*, of which some give water about a foot square. That of *Sixtus* the V. the great *Fountain* of *Aqua Travi*, that hath yet no decoration, but dischargeth a prodigious quantity of *Water*. The glorious *Fountain* in the *Piazza Navona*, that hath an Air of greatness in it that surprizeth one, the *Fountain* in the *Piazza de Spagna*, those before *S. Peters*, and the *Palazzo Farnese*, with many others, furnish *Rome* so plentifully, that almost every private *House* hath a *Fountain* that runs continually. All these, I say, are Noble Decorations, that carry an usefulness with them, that cannot be enough commended: and gives a much greater Idea of those who have taken care to supply this *City*, with one of the chief Pleasures and Conveniences of Life, than of others, who have laid out millions merely to bring quantities of *Water* to give the eye a little diversion, which would have been laid out much more nobly and usefully, and would have more effectually eternized their Fame, if they had been employed as the *Romans* did their Treasures, in furnishing great *Towns* with *Water*.

There is an universal *Civility* that reigns among all sorts of people at *Rome*, which in a great measure flows from their *Government*, for



every man being capable of all the advancements of that *State*, since a simple *Ecclesiastick* may become one of the *Monsignori*, and one of these may be a *Cardinal*, and one of these may be chosen *Pope*, this makes every man behave himself towards all other persons with an Exactness of Respect: for no man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes Professions of Esteem and Kindness go so promiscuously to all sorts of persons, that one ought not to build too much on them. The conversation of *Rome* is generally upon *News*, for though there is no *News Printed* there, yet in the several *Antichambers* of the *Cardinals* (where if they make any considerable figure, there are *Assemblies* of those that make their Court to them) one is sure to hear all the *News of Europe*, together with many speculations upon what passeth. At the *Queen of Swedens*, all that relateth to *Germany*, or the *North* is ever to be found; and that *Princess*, that must ever Reign among all that have a true taste either of Wit or Learning, hath still in her drawing Rooms the best Court of the *Strangers*; and her Civility, together with the vast variety with which she furnisheth her conversation; maketh her to be the chief of all the living Rarities that one sees in *Rome*; I will not use her own words to my self, which was, *That she now grew to be one of the Antiquities of Rome*. The *Ambassadors of Crowns*, who live here in another form than in any other Court, and the *Cardinals* and *Pre-lates*

lates of the several Nations, that do all meet and center here, make, that there is more *News in Rome*, than any where: For *Priests*, and the Men of *Religious Orders*, write larger and more particular *Letters*, than any other sort of Men. But such as apply themselves to make their Court here, are condemned to a loss of time, that had need be well recompenced, for it is very great. As for one that Studies *Antiquities*, *Pictures*, *Statues*, or *Musick*, there is more entertainment for him at *Rome*, than in all the rest of *Europe*; but if he hath not a taste of these things, he will soon be weary of a place where the Conversation is always general, and where there is little Sincerity or Openness practised, and by consequence, where friendship is little understood. The *Women* here begin to be a little more conversable, though a Nation naturally jealous, will hardly allow a great liberty in a City that is composed of *Ecclesiastics*; who being denyed the priviledge of *Wives* of their own, are suspected of being sometimes too bold with the *Wives* of others: The Liberties that were taken in the *Constable of Naples's Palace*, had indeed disgusted the *Romans* much at that Freedom, which had no bounds. But the *Dutchess of Bracciano*, that is a *French Woman*, hath by the exactness of her deportment, amidst all the innocent Freedoms of a Noble Conversation, recovered in a great measure, the Credit of those Liberties, that *Ladies*, beyond the Mountains practise,

Life, with all the strictness of Vertue : For she receiveth visits at publick hours, and in publick Rooms ; and by the liveliness of her Conversation, maketh that her Court is the pleafantest Assembly of Strangers, that is to be found in any of the *Palaces* of the *Italians* at *Rome*.

I will not ingage in a description of *Rome*, either ancient or modern, this hath been done so oft, and with such exactness, that nothing can be added to what hath been already published. It is certain, that when one is in the *Capitol*, and sees those poor Rests of what once it was, he is surprized to see a Building of so great a Fame sunk so low, that one can scarce imagine that it was once a *Castle*, scituated upon a Hill, able to hold out against a Siege of the *Gauls*: The *Tarpeian Rock* is now of so small a fall, that a man would think it no great matter, for his diversion, to leap over it : and the shape of the ground hath not been so much altered on one side, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other. For *Severus's Triumphal Arch*, which is at the Foot of the Hill on the other side, is not now buried above two foot within the ground, as the vast *Amphitheater* of *Titus* is not above three foot sunk under the level of the ground. Within the *Capitol* one sees many Noble remnants of *Antiquity*; but none is more glorious, as well as more useful, than the *Tables of their Consuls*, which are upon the *Walls*: and the *Inscription* on the *Columna Reostrata* in the time of the first *Punick War*, is without doubt the most

most valuable Antiquity in *Rome*. From this all along the sacred way, one findeth such remnants of *Old Rome* in the Ruins of the *Temples*, in the *Triumphal Arches*, in the *Porticos*, and other Remains of that glorious Body, that as one cannot see these too often, so every time one sees them, they kindle in him vast Ideas of that *Republic*, and make him reflect on that which he learned in his youth with great pleasure. From the height of the Convent of *Araceli*, a man hath a full view of all the extent of *Rome*, but literally it is now *seges ubi Roma fuit*; for the parts of the City, that were most inhabited antiently, are those that are now laid in great *Gardens*, or, as they call them, *Vineyards*, of which some are half a mile in compass: The vastness of the *Roman* Magnificence and Luxury, is that which passeth Imagination; the prodigious *Amphitheater* of *Titus*, that could conveniently receive eighty five thousand spectators; the great extent of the *Circus Maximus*; the *vaults* where the *Waters* were reserved that furnished *Titus's Baths*; and above all, *Dioclesian's Baths*, tho built when the *Empire* was in it's decay, are so far above all *Modern Buildings*, that there is not so much as room for a comparison. The extent of those *Baths* is above half a mile in compass; the vastness of the *Rooms* in which the *Bathers* might swim, of which the *Carthusian's Church*, that yet remains intire, is one, and the many great *Pillars*, all of one Stone of *Marble*, beautifully spotted, are things of which these latter Ages are not capable.

The beauty of their *Temples*, and of the *Portico's* before them, is amazing, chiefly that of the *Rotunda*, where the *Fabrick* without, looketh as mean, being only *Brick*, as the *Architecture* is bold; for it riseth up in a *Vault*, and yet at the top there is an open left, of thirty foot in Diameter, which, as it is the only *Window* of the *Church*, so it filleth it with light, and is the hardiest piece of *Architecture* that ever was made. The *Pillars* of the *Portico* are also the noblest in *Rome*, they are the highest and biggest that one can see any where all of one *Stone*; and the numbers of those ancient *Pillars*, with which, not only many of the *Churches* are beautified, chiefly *St. Mary Maggiore*, and *St. John* in the *Lateran*, but with which even private houses are adorned, and of the *Fragments* of which there are such multitudes in all the *Streets* of *Rome*, giveth a great Idea of the Expencefulness of the old *Romans* in their buildings; for the hewing and fetching a few of those *Pillars*, must have cost more than whole *Palaces* do now; since most of them were brought from *Greece*: Many of these *Pillars* are of *Porphiry*, others of *Jasp*, others of grained *Marble*, but the greatest number is of white *Marble*: The two *Columns*, *Trajan's* and *Antonin's*; the two *Horses* that are in the *Mount Cavallo*, and the other two *Horses* in the *Capitol*, which have not indeed the postures and motion of the other: The brass *Horse*, that as is believed carrieth *Marcus Aurelius*; the remains of *Nero's Colossus*, the *Temple* of *Bacchus* near the *Catacomb* of *S. Agnes*, which is  
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the intirest and the least altered of all the ancient Temples: The great Temple of Peace; those of the Sun and Moon: that of Romulus and Remus, (which I considered as the ancientest Fabrick that is now left; for it is little and simple, and standeth in such a place, that when Rome grew so costly, it could not have been let alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was revered for its Antiquity) the many other Porticos, the Arches of Severus, of Titus, and Constantine, in the last of which one sees that the Sculpture of his Age, was much sunk from what it had been, only in the top there are some Bas Reliefs, that are clearly of a much ancients time, and of a better manner. And that which exceedeth all the rest, the many great Aqueducts that come from all hands, and run over a vast distance, are things which a man cannot see oft enough, if he would form in himself a just idea of the vastness of that Republick, or rather Empire: There are many Statues and Pillars, and other Antiquities of great value, dug up in all the quarters of Rome, these last hundred and four-score years, since Pope Leo the tenth's time; who as he was the greatest Patron of Learning and Arts, that perhaps ever was, so was the generous Prince that ever reigned; and it was he that first set on foot the inquiring into the Riches of Old Rome, that lay, till his time, for the most part, hid under ground; and indeed if he had been less scandalous in his Impiety and Atheism,



of which neither *he* nor his *Court* were so much as ashamed, he had been one of the most celebrated persons of any Age. Soon after him *Pope Paul* the III. gave the ground of the *Monte Palatino* to his *Family*: But I was told, that this large piece of ground, in which one should look for the greatest collection of the *Antiquities* of the highest value, since this is the Ruin of the *Palace* of the *Roman Emperors*, hath never been yet searched into with any exactness: So that when a curious *Prince* cometh, that is willing to imploy many hands in digging up and down this *Hill*, we may expect new Scenes of *Roman Antiquities*. But all this matter would require Volumes, and therefore I have only named these things, because I can add nothing to those copious Descriptions that have been so oft made of them. Nor will I say any thing of the *modern Palaces*, or the Ornaments of them, either in *Pictures* or *Statues*, which are things that carry one so far, that it is not easie to give bounds to the Descriptions into which one findeth himself carried, when he once enters upon so fruitful a Subject. The number of the *Palaces* is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the attention of a *Traveller*, till a new one drives the former out of his thoughts: It is true, the *Palestrina*, the *Borghese*, and the *Farnese* have somewhat in them that leave an impression which no new *Objects* can wear out; and as the last hath a noble *Square* before it, with two great *Fountains*

in it, so the *Statue of Hercules* and the *Bull*, that are below, and the *Gallery* above stairs, are unvaluable; the *Roof* of the *Gallery* is one of the best pieces of *Painting* that is extant, being all of *Carrachio's* hand; and there are in that *Gallery* the greatest number of *heads* of the *Greek Philosophers* and *Poets* that I ever saw together: That of *Homer* and that of *Socrates* were the two that struck me most, chiefly the latter, which as it is, without dispute, a true *Antick*, so it carrieth in it all the *Characters* that *Plato* and *Xenophon* give us of *Socrates*; the flat *Nose*, the broad *Face*, the simplicity of *Look*, and the mean *Appearance* which that great *Philosopher* made, so that I could not return oft enough to look upon it, and was delighted with this more than with all the *Wonders* of the *Bull*, which is indeed a *Rock of Marble*, cut out into a whole *Scene of Statues*; but as the *History* of it is not well known, so there are such faults in the *Sculpture*, that though it is all extream fine, yet one seeth it hath not the exactness of the best times. As for the *Churches* and *Convents* of *Rome*, as the number, the *Vastness*, the *Riches* both of *Fabrick*, *Furniture*, *Painting* and other *Ornaments* amaze one, so here again a *Stranger* is lost; and the *Convent* that one seeth last, is always the most admired: I confess, the *Minerva*, which is the *Dominicans*, where the *Inquisition* sitteth, is that which maketh the most sensible impres-

sion upon one that passeth at *Rome* for an *Heretick*, though except one committeth great follies, he is in no danger there; and the Poverty that reigns in that *City* maketh them find their interest so much in using *Strangers* well, whatsoever their *Religion* may be, that no man needs be afraid there: And I have more than ordinary reason to acknowledge this, who having ventured to go thither, after all the liberty that I had taken to write my thoughts freely both of the *Church* and *See* of *Rome*, and was known by all with whom I conversed there, yet met with the highest Civilities possible among all sorts of People, and in particular both among the *English* and *Scottish* *Jesuits*, though they knew well enough that I was no friend to their *Order*.

In the *Gallery* of the *English* *Jesuits* among the *Pictures* of their *Martyrs*, I did not meet with *Garnet*; for perhaps that name is so well known, that they would not expose a *Picture*, with such a name on it, to all strangers; yet *Oldcorn*, being a name less known, is hung there among their *Martyrs*, though he was as clearly convicted of the *Gunpowder* *Treason*, as the other was: and it seemed a little strange to me to see that at a time, in which, for other Reasons the *Writers* of that *Communion* have not thought fit, to deny the truth of that *Conspiracy*, a *Jesuit* convicted of the blackest crime that ever was projected, should be reckoned among

mong their *Martyrs*. I saw likewise there the Original of those *Emblematical Prophecies*, relating to *England*, that the *Jesuits* have had at *Rome* near sixty years, and of which I had some time ago procured a *Copy*, so I found my *Copy* was true. I hapned to be at *Rome* during *St. Gregory's Fair and Feast*, which lasted several days. In his *Church* the *Hosty* was exposed; and from that, all that came thither, went to the *Chappel*, that was once his *House*, in which his *Statue* and the *Table*, where he served the poor, are preserved: I saw such vast numbers of People there, that one would have thought all *Rome* was got together. They all kneeled down to his *Statue*, and after a *Prayer* said to it, they kissed his foot, and every one touched the *Table* with his *Beads*, as hoping to draw some vertue from it. I will add nothing of the several *Obelisks* and *Pillars* that are in *Rome*, of the celebrated *Chappels* that are in some of the great *Churches*, in particular those of *Sixtus the V.* and *Paul the V.* in *Santa Maria Maggiore*, of the *Water-works* in the *Quirinal*, the *Vatican*, and in many of the *Vineyards*: Nor will I go out of *Rome* to describe *Frescati*, (for *Tivoly* I did not see) The young *Prince Borghese*, who is indeed one of the *Glories* of *Rome*, as well for his learning as for his vertue, did me the Honour to carry me thither with those two learned *Abbots*, *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and entertained me with a magnificence that became him better to give than me to receive.

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The *Water-works* in the *Aldobrandin Palace* have a Magnificence in them beyond all that I ever saw in *France*, the mixture of *Wind* with the *Water*, and the *Thunders* and *Storms* that this maketh is noble: The *Water-works* of the *Ludoviso*, and the *Monte Dragone*, have likewise a greatness in them that is natural; and indeed, the *Riches* that one meets with in all places within doors in *Italy*, and the *Poverty* that one seeth every where abroad, are the most unsuitable things imaginable: but it is very likely, that a great part of their movable Wealth will be ere long carried into *France*; for as soon as any *Picture* or *Statue* of great value is offered to be sold, those that are employed by the *King* of *France*, do presently buy it up, so that as that *King* hath already, the greatest collection of *Pictures* that is in *Europe*, he will very probably in a few years more, bring together the chief *Treasures* of *Italy*.

I have now given you an account of all that appeared most remarkable to me in *Rome*. I shall to this add a very extraordinary piece of *Natural History* that fell out there within these two years, which I had first from those two learned Abbots, *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by *Cardinal Howard*, who was one of the *Congregation* of *Cardinals* that examined and judged the matter. There were two *Nuns* near *Rome*, one as I remember was in the *City*, and the other not far

far from it, who, after they had been for some years in a *Nunnery*, perceived a very strange change in Nature, and that their *Sex* was altered, which grew by some degrees to a total alteration in one; and though the other was not so entire a change, yet it was visible she was more *Man* than *Woman*; upon this the matter was looked into: That which naturally offereth it self here, is, *that these two had been always what they then appeared to be; but that they had gone into a Nunnery in a disguise, to gratifie a brutal Appetite.* But to this, when I proposed it, answer was made, that as the *Breasts* of a *Woman*, that remained still, did in a great measure shake off that Objection, so the proofs were given so fully, of their having been real *Females*, that there was no doubt left of that, nor had they given any sort of Scandal in the change of their *Sex*; And if there had been any room left to suspect a Cheat or Disguise, the proceedings would have been both more severe and more secret; and these persons would have been Burnt, or at least put to Death in some terrible manner. Some *Physicians* and *Chirurgions* were appointed to examine the matter, and at last, after a long and exact inquiry, they were judged to be absolved from their *vows*, and were dismissed from the Obligation of a *Religious* Life, and required to go in *Mens habit*. One of them was a *Valer de Chambre* to a *Roman Marques*, when I was there: I heard of this matter only two days before I left *Rome*,  
so



that I had not time to inquire after it more particularly; but I judged it so extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating to so curious an *Inquirer into Nature*.

And since I am upon the subject of the Changes that have been made in *Nature*, I shall add one of another sort, that I examined while I was at *Geneva*: There is a *Minister* of *S. Gervais*, Mr. *Gody*, who hath a *Daughter*, that is now *sixteen Years* old; Her *Nurse* had an extraordinary thickness of hearing; at a year old, the *Child* spoke all those little words, that Children begin usually to learn at that age, but she made no progress; yet this was not observed, till it was too late; and as she grew to be two years old, they perceived then that she had lost her hearing, and was so deaf that ever since though she hears great noises, yet she hears nothing that one can speak to her. It seems, while the milk of her *Nurse*, was more abundant, and that the *Child* sucked more moderately the first year, those Humors in the Blood and Milk had not that effect on her, that appeared after she came to suck more violently: and that her *Nurse's* Milk being in less quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that vapour that occasioned the deafness. But this *Child* hath by observing the *Motions* of the *Mouths* and *Lips* of others, acquired so many *Words*, that out of these she hath formed a sort of *Jargon*, in which she can hold conversation whole days with those that can speak her own  
language

language. I could understand some of her words, but could not comprehend a period; for it seemed to be a confused noise: She knows nothing that is said to her, unless she seeth the *Motion* of their *Mouths* that speak to her; so that in the *Night*, when it is necessary to speak to her, they must light a candle: Only one thing appeared the strangest part of the whole narration; She hath a *Sister*, with whom she has practised her language more than with any other; and in the *Night*, by laying her *Hand* on her *Sister's Mouth*, she can perceive by that, what she says, and so can discourse with her in the night. It is true, her *Mother* told me, that this did not go far, and that she found out only some short period in this manner, but it did not hold out very long: thus this young *Woman*, without any pains taken on her, hath meerly by a natural sagacity, found out a method of holding discourse, that doth in a great measure lessen the *Misery* of her Deafness. I examined this matter critically, but only the *Sister* was not present, so that I could not see how the conversation past between them in the dark.

But before I give over writing concerning *Rome*, I cannot hinder my self, from giving you an account of a conversation that I had with one of the most Celebrated persons that lives in it; I was talking concerning the credit that the *Order* of the *Jesuits* had every where; It was said,

said, that *all the World mistrusted them*, and yet by a strange sort of Contradiction *all the World trusted them*; and though it was well known that every *Jesuite* was truer to the *Interests* of his *Order* than he could be to the *Interests* of any *Prince* whatsoever, yet those *Princes* that would be very careful, not to suffer *Spys* to come into their *Courts*, or into their *Councils*, suffered those *Spys* to come into their *Breasts* and *Consciences*: and though *Princes* were not generally very tender in those parts, yet as they had oft as much *Guilt*, so they had sometimes as much *Fear* as other *People*, which a dextrous *Spy* knew well how to manage. Upon which, that *Person*, that pretended to be a *zealous Catholick*, added, that for their part, they considered only the *Character* that the *Church* gave to a *Priest*; and if the *Church* qualified him to do the functions of a *Priest*, they thought it very needless to enquire after other personal *Qualities*, which were but common things, whereas the other was all divine. On the Contrary, they thought it was so much the better to have to do with a poor *Ignorant Priest*; for then they had to do only with the *Church*, and not with the *Man*. Pursuant to this, that *Persons Confessor* was the greatest, and the most notorious *Blockhead* that could be found; and when they were asked, *why they made use of so weak a man*? they answered, *because they could not find a weaker*: and when ever they found one better qualified that way, if it were a *Groom*, or a

Footman

*Footman* that got into *Priests Orders*, they would certainly make use of him. For they would ask counsel of a *Friend*; but they knew no other use of a *Confessor*, but to confess to him, and to receive *Absolution* from him: and in so doing, they pretended they acted as became a *true Catholick*, that considered only the Power of the *Church* in the *Priests*, without regarding any thing else.

So far have I entertained you with the short Ramble that I made, which was too short to deserve the name of *Travelling*, and therefore the *Inquiries* or *Observations* that I could make, must be received with the Abatement that ought to be made for so short a stay; and all will be of a piece, when the *Remarks* are as slight, as the *Abode* I made in the places through which I past was short. As I have avoided the troubling you with things that are commonly known, so if I have not entertained you with a long recital of ordinary matters, yet I have told you nothing but what I saw and knew to be true, or that I had from such hands, that I have very good reason to believe it: and I fancy, that the things which made the greatest impression on my self, will be acceptably received by you, to whom, as upon many accounts, I owe all the expressions of Esteem and Gratitude that I can ever pay; so I had a more particular reason, that determined me to give you so full an account of all I saw and observed; for as you were  
please

pleased at parting to do me the Honour, to desire me to communicate to you such things as appeared most remarkable to me, so I found such a vast advantage in many places, but more particularly at *Venice, Rome* and *Naples*, by the Happiness I have of being known to you, and of being so far considered by you, that I could give a copious account both of your *Person* and *Studies*, to those in whom your curious *Discoveries* had kindled that esteem for you, which all the World payeth both to you and to your immortal *Inquiries* into *Nature*, which are among the peculiar Blessings of this *Age*; and that are read with no less care and pleasure in *Italy* than in *England*. This was so well received, that I found the great advantage of this Honour I did my self in assuming the glorious Title of one of your Friends; and I owe a great part of that distinction which I met with, to this favourable *Character* that I gave my self; so that if I made any progress in the *Inquiries* that so short a stay could enable one to make, I owe it in so peculiar a manner to you, that this Return that I make, is but a very small part of that I owe you, and which I will be endeavouring to pay you to the last moment of my life.

# THE FIFTH LETTER.

From *Nimmegen*, the 20th of *May*, 1686.

S I R,

I Thought I had made so full a *Point* at the conclusion of my last *Letter*, that I should not have given you the trouble of reading any more *Letters* of the volume of the former: But new Scenes, and new matter offering themselves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I ingage you again to two or three hours reading.

From *Civita Vecchia* I came to *Marseilles*, where if there were a *Road* as Safe, as the *Harbour* is Covered; and if the *Harbour* were as Large, as it is Convenient, it were certainly one of the most important places in the World: all is so well defended, that it is with respect either to Storms or Enemies, the securest *Port* that can be seen any where. The Freedoms of this place, though it is now at the mercy of the *Cittadel*, are such, and its Scituation draweth so much *Trade* to it, that there one seeth another appearance of *Wealth*, than I found in any *Town* of *France*; and there is a New *Street* lately built there,



there, that for the Beauty of the Buildings, and the largeness of the Street, is the Noblest I ever saw. — There is in that *Port* a perpetual heat, and the *Sun* was so strong in the *Christmas-week*, that I was often driven off the *Key*. I made a *Tour* from thence through *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*. I will offer you no account of *Nismes*, nor of the *Amphitheater* in it, or the *Pont du Gar* near it; which as they are stupendious things, so they are so copiously described by many, and are so generally known to the *English Nation*, that if you have never gone that way your self, yet you must needs have received so particular a relation of them, from those that have seen them on their way to *Montpelier*, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon them: Nor will I say any thing of the *Soil*, the *Towns*, or any other remarkable things that I found there.

I have much stronger inclination to say somewhat, concerning the *Persecution* which I saw in its *Rage* and utmost *Fury*; and of which I could give you many *Instances*, that are so much beyond all the common measures of *Barbarity* and *Cruelty*, that I confess they ought not to be believed, unless I could give more positive proofs of them, than are fitting now to be brought forth: and the *particulars* that I could tell you are such, that if I should relate them with the necessary *Circumstances* of *Time*, *Place*, and *Persons*, these might be so fatal to many that are yet in

the

the power of their Enemies, that my regard to them restrains me. In short, I do not think that in *any Age* there ever was such a *Violation* of all that is *Sacred*, either with relation to *God* or *Man*: And what I *saw* and *knew* there, from the first hand, hath so confirmed all the *Ideas* that I had taken from *Books* of the *Cruelty* of that *Religion*, that I hope the impression that this hath made upon me, shall never end but with my *Life*: The *Applauses* that the *whole Clergy* give to this way of proceeding, the many *Panegyricks* that are already writ upon it, of which, besides the more pompous ones that appear at *Paris*, there are numbers writ by smaller *Authors* in every *Town* of any note there; and the *Sermons* that are all flights of flattery upon this subject, are such evident *Demonstrations* of their sense of this matter, that what is now on foot may be well termed, *the Act of the whole Clergy of France*, which yet hath been hitherto esteemed the most moderate part of the *Roman Communion*. If any are more moderate than others; and have not so far laid-off the humane nature, as to go in entirely into those bloody Practices, yet they dare not own it, but whisper it in secret, as if it were half *Treason*: but for the greater part, they do not only magnifie all that is done, but they animate even the *Dragoons* to higher degrees of *Rage*: and there was such a *Heat* spread over all the *Country*, on this occasion, that one could not go into any *Ordinary*, or mix in any promiscuous

miscuous conversation, without finding such effects of it, that it was not easie for such as were toucht with the least degree of Compassion for the *Miseries* that the poor *Protestants* suffered, to be a witness to the *Insultings* that they must meet with in all places. Some perhaps imagin, that this hath not been approved in *Italy*, and it is true, there were not any publick *Rejoycings* upon it at *Rome*; no *Indulgences* nor *Te Deums* were heard of: And the *Spanish Faction* being so prevalent there, it is not strange if a course of proceedings, that is without an example, was set forth, by all that were of *that Interest*, in its proper colours; of which I met with some instances my self, and could not but smile, to see some of the *Spanish Faction* so far to forget their *Courts of Inquisition*, as to argue against the *Conversions* by the *Dragoons*, as a reproach to the *Catholick Religion*. Yet the *Pope* was of another mind; for the *Duke d' Estrées* gave him an account of the *Kings Proceedings* in this matter very copiously; as he himself related it. Upon which the *Pope* approved all, and expressed a great satisfaction in every thing that the King had done in that matter; and the *Pope* added, that he found some *Cardinals* (as I remember the *Duke d' Estrées* said two) were not pleased with it, and had taken the liberty to censure it; but the *Pope* said, *they were too blame*: The *Duke d' Estrées* did not name the two *Cardinals*, tho he said, he believed he knew who they were; and it is very like that *Cardinal Pio* was

was one; for I was told, that he spoke freely enough of this matter. I must take the liberty to add one thing to you, that I do not see that the *French King* is to be so much blamed in this matter as his *Religion* is, which, without question, obligeth him to extirpate *Hereticks*, and not to keep his *Faith* to them; so that instead of censuring him, I must only lament his being bred up in a *Religion* that doth certainly oblige him to divest himself of *Humanity*, and to violate his *Faith*, whensoever the cause of his *Church* and *Religion* requireth it: Or if there is any thing in this conduct, that cannot be entirely justified from the *Principles of that Religion*, it is this, that he doth not put the *Hereticks* to Death out of hand, but that he forceth them, by all the *Extremities* possible, to sign an *Abjuration*, that all the *World* must needs see, is done against their *Consciences*: And this being the only End of their *Miseries*; those that would think any sort of *Death* a happy conclusion of their *Sufferings*, seeing no prospect of such a glorious issue out of their *Trouble*, are prevailed on by the many *lingring Deaths*, of which they see no end, to make *Shipwrack* of the *Faith*: This appearance of *Mercy*, in not putting men to *Death*, doth truly verifie the *Character* that *Solomon* giveth of the tender *Mercies* of the wicked, that they are *Cruel*.

But I will stop here, though it is not easy to retire from so copious a subject, that as it affordeth so much matter, so upon many accounts, raiseth

raiseth a heat of thought, that is not easily governed. I will now lead you to a Scene that giveth less passion.

I past the Winter at *Geneva*, with more satisfaction than I had thought it was possible for me to have found any where out of *England*: though that received great allays from the most lamentable *Stories* that we had every day from *France*: But there is a Sorrow by which the Heart is made better. I ought to make the most publick acknowledgments possible for the extraordinary Civilities that I met with in my own particular: but that is too low a Subject to entertain you with it. That which pleased me most, was of a more publick Nature; before I left *Geneva*, the number of the *English* there was such, that I found we could make a small *Congregation*; for we were twelve or fourteen; so I addressed my self to the *Council* of 25. for Liberty to have our own *Worship* in our own Language, according to the *English Liturgy*. This was immediately granted in so obliging a manner, that as there was not one person that made any Exception to it, so they sent one of their Body to me, to let me know, that in case our number should grow to be so great, that it were fit for us to assemble in a *Church*, they would grant us one which had been done in *Queen Maries Reign*: but till then, we might hold our *Assemblys* as we thought fit. So after that time, during the rest of my stay there, we had every

*Sunday*

*Sunday* our *Devotions* according to the *Common Prayer* Morning and Evening : and at the Evening Prayer, I *preacht* in a *Room* that was indeed too large for our small Company ; but there being a considerable number in *Geneva* that Understand *English*, and in particular some of the *Professors* and *Ministers* ; we had a great many *Strangers* ; that met with us : and the last *Sunday* I gave the *Sacrament* according to the way of the *Church of England* ; and upon this occasion, I found a general joy in the *Town*, for this, that I had given them an Opportunity of expressing the respect they had for our *Church* ; and as in their publick Prayers they always prayed for the *Churches of Great Brittain*, as well as for the *King*, so in private Discourse they shewed all possible esteem for our *Constitutions* ; and they spoke of the unhappy *Divisions* among us, and of the *Separation* that was made from us, upon the account of our *Government* and *Ceremonies*, with great regret and dislike. I shall name to you only two of their *Professors*, that as they are Men of great Distinction, so they were the persons with whom I conversed the most. The one is *Mr. Turretin*, a Man of great Learning, that by his Indefatigable Study and Labour has much worn out, and wasted his strength ; amidst all the affluence of a great plenty of Fortune to which he was born, one discerns in him all the Modesty of a humble and mortified temper, and



of an active and fervent Charity, proportioned to his abundance, or rather beyond it: And there is in him such a melting Zeal for Religion, as the present conjuncture calls for, with all the seriousness of Piety and Devotion, which shews it self both in private conversation and in his most edifying Sermons, by which he enters deep into the Consciences of his Hearers. The other is Mr. Tronchin, a Man of a strong Head, and of a clear and correct Judgment; who has all his thoughts well digested; his Conversation has an engaging charm in it that cannot be resisted: He is a Man of Extraordinary vertue, and of a Readiness to oblige and serve all Persons, that has scarce any measures: His Sermons have a sublimity in them, that strikes the Hearer, as well as it edifies him: His Thoughts are noble, and his Eloquence is Masculine and exact, and has all the Majesty of the Chair in it, tempered with all the Softness of Persuasion, so that he not only convinces his Hearers, but subdues them, and triumphs over them. In such Company it was no wonder, if time seemed to go off too fast, so that I left Geneva with a concern, that I could not have felt in leaving any place, out of the Isle of Britain.

From Geneva, I went a second time through Switzerland to Basil: at *Avanche* I saw the Noble Fragments of a great Roman Work, which seems to have been the Portico to some Temple: the Heads of the Pillars are about four Foot square,  
of

of the *Ionick* Order ; the *Temple* hath been dedicated to *Neptune*, or some Sea-god ; for on the Fragments of the *Architrave*, which are very beautiful, there are *Dolphins* and *Sea-Horses* in *Bas Reliefs* ; and the Neighbourhood of the place to the *Lakes* of *Iverdun* and *Morat* maketh this more evident : there is also a *Pillar* standing up in its full height, or rather the Corner of a Building, in which one seeth the Rests of a regular *Architecture* in two ranks of *Pillars* : If the ground near this were carefully searcht, no doubt it would discover more Rests of that *Fabrick*. Not far from this is *Morat* ; and a little on this side of it is a *Chappel*, full of the Bones of the *Burgundians*, that were killed by the *Switzers*, when this place was besieged by the famous *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, who lost a great *Army* before it, that was entirely cut off by the besieged ; the *Inscription* is very extraordinary, especially for that Age : for the bones being so piled up, that the *Chappel* is quite filled with them, the *Inscription* bears, that *Charles Duke of Burgundy's Army* having besieged *Morat*, *Hoc sui Monumentum reliquit*, had left that Monument behind it. It cannot but seem strange to one that views *Morat*, to imagin how it was possible for a Town so situated, and so slightly fortified, to hold out against so powerful a Prince, and so great an Army, that brought *Canon* before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and *Basle*, except that I staid some time at *Bern*, and knew it

better ; and at this second time it was, that My Lord Advoyer d'Erlach gave Order to shew me the Original Records of the famous Proceſs of the four Dominicans ; upon which I have retoucht the Letter that I writ to you laſt year, ſo that I now ſend it to you with the Corrections and Inlargements, that this ſecond ſtay at Bern gave me occaſion to make.

Baſil is the Town of the greateſt extent of all Switzerland, but it is not inhabited in proportion to its extent. The Rhine maketh a Crook before it ; and the Town is ſituated on a riſing ground, which hath a noble effect on the Eye, when one is on the Bridge ; for it looketh like a Theater. Little Baſil on the other ſide of the Rhine, is almoſt a fourth part of the whole : The Town is ſurrounded with a Wall and Ditch ; but it is ſo expoſed on ſo many ſides, and hath now ſo dreadful a Neighbour within a quarter of a League of it, the Fort of Hummingen, that it hath nothing to truſt to, humanely ſpeaking, but its Union with the other Cantons. The Maxims of this Canton have hindred its being better peopled than it is ; the Advantages of the Burgeſhip are ſuch, that the Citizens will not ſhare them with Strangers, and by this means they do not admit them. For I was told, that during the laſt War, that Alſatia was ſo often the Seat of both Armys, Baſil having then a Neutrality, it might have been well filled, if it had not been for this Maxim. And it were a great Happineſs to all the Cantons,

if they could have different *Degrees of Burghership*, so that the *lower Degrees* might be given to *Strangers* for their *Incouragement* to come and live among them : and the *higher Degrees*, which qualify Men for the *advantageous Employments* of the *State*, might be reserved for the *Ancient Families* of the *Natives*. *Basil* is divided into *sixteen Companies*, and every one of these hath *four Members* in the *little Council*, so that it consisteth of *sixty four* : But of those four, *two* are chosen by the *Company* it self, who are called the *Masters*, and the other two are chosen by the *Council* out of the *Company* ; and thus as there are *two* sorts of *Councillors*, chosen in those different manners, there are also *two* chief *Magistrates*. There are *two Burgermasters*, that Reign by turns, and two *Zunft-Masters*, that have also their turns, and all is for life ; and the last are the *Heads* of the *Companies*, like the *Romans Tribunes* of the *People*. The *Fabrick* of the *State-House* is ancient ; there is very good *painting* in *fresco* upon the *Walls* ; one piece hath given much offence to the *Papists*, though they have no Reason to blame the *Reformation* for it, since it was done several years before it, in the year 1510. It is a Representation of the *Day of Judgment*, and after Sentence given, the *Devil* is represented driving many before him to *Hell*, and among these there is a *Pope*, and several *Ecclesiasticks*. But it is believed, that the *Council*, which sate so long in this place, acting so vigorously against the

*Pope*, engaged the Town into such a hatred of the *Papacy*, that this might give the rise to this Representation. The more learned in the Town ascribe the beginning of the Custom in *Basil* of the *Clocks* anticipating the time a full hour, to the sitting of the *Council*, and they say, that in order to the Advancing of business, and the shortning their *Sessions*, they ordered their *Clocks* to be set forward an hour, which continueth to this day. The *Cathedral* is a great old *Gothick* Building; the *Chamber* where the *Council* sate, is of no great reception, and is a very ordinary Room: *Erasmus's Tomb* is only a plain *Inscription* upon a great *Brass* Plate: There are many of *Holbens's Pictures* here, who was a Native of *Basil*, and was recommended by *Erasmus* to *King Henry* the VIII. the two best are a *Corpe* or *Christ Dead*, which is certainly one of the best *Pictures* in the World: There is another *Piece* of his in the *Stadt-House* (for this is in the *publick Library*) of about three or four foot square, in which, in six several *Cantons*, the several parts of our *Saviours Passion* are represented with a life and beauty that cannot be enough admired; it is valued at ten thousand *Crowns*; it is on *Wood*, but hath that Freshness of colour still on it, that seems particular to *Holbens's Pencil*. There is also a *Dance*, that he painted on the *Walls* of an *House* where he used to drink, that is so worn out, that very little is now to be seen, except shapes and Postures; but these shew the exquisiteness of the Hand.

Hand. There is another longer *Dance*, that runneth all along the side of the *Convent* of the *Augustinians*, which is now the *French Church*, which is *Deaths Dance*; there are above threescore *Figures* in it at full length; of *Persons* of all ranks, from *Popes*, *Emperours* and *Kings*, down to the meanest sorts of *People*, and of all *Ages* and *Professions*, to whom *Death* appeareth in an insolent and surprising posture; and the several *Passions* that they express, are so well set out, that this was certainly a great design. But the *Fresco* being exposed to the *Air*, this was so worn out some time ago, that they ordered the best *Painter* they had to lay new *Colours* on it; but this is so ill done, that one had rather see the dead shadows of *Holbens's Pencil*, than this course work. There is in *Basil* a *Gun-Smith*, that maketh *Wind-Guns*, and he shewed me one, that as it received at once *Air* for *ten shot*, so it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends is his own *Invention*, that he can *Discharge* all the *Air* that can be parcelled out in *ten shot at once*, to give a home blow. I confess those are terrible *Instruments*, and it seems the interest of mankind to forbid them quite, since they can be employed to *Assassinate* *Persons* so dextrously, that neither *Noise* nor *Fire* will discover from what hand the *Shot* cometh. The *Library* of *Basil* is by much the best in all *Switzerland*, there is a fine collection of *Meddals* in it, and a very handsome *Library of Manuscripts*; the *Room* is Noble, and disposed in a very



good Method. Their *Manuscripts* are chiefly the *Latin Fathers*, or *Latin Translations* of the *Greek Fathers*, some good *Bibles*; they have the *Gospel* in *Greek Capitals*, but they are vitiously writ in many places: there is an infinite number of the *Writers* of the darker Ages, and there are *Legends* and *Sermons* without number. All the Books that were in the several *Monasteries*, at the time of the *Reformation*, were carefully preserved; and they believe, that the *Bishops* who sat here in the *Council*, brought with them a great many *Manuscripts* which they never carried away. Among their *Manuscripts*, I saw four of *Huss's Letters*, that he writ to the *Bohemians* the day before his death, which are very devout, but excessively simple. The *Manuscripts* of this *Library* are far more numerous than those of *Bern*, which were gathered by *Bongarsius*, and left by him to the publick *Library* there: they are indeed very little considered there, and are the worst kept that ever I saw: But it is a Noble *Collection* of all the ancient *Latin Authors*; they have some few of the best of the *Roman* times, writ in great *Characters*, and there are many that are seven or eight hundred *Years* old. There is in *Basil* one of the best collections of *Meddals* that ever I saw in private hands; together with a Noble *Library*, in which there are *Manuscripts* of good antiquity, that belongs to the *Family of Fesch*, and that goeth from one learned Man of the *Family* to another; for this

*Inheritance*

*Inheritance* can only pass to a man of Learning, and when the Family produceth none, then it is to go to the *publick*. In *Basil*, as the several *Companies* have been more or less strict, in admitting some to a *Freedom* in the *Company*, that have not been of the *Trade*, so they retain their *Priviledges* to this day. For in such *Companies*, that have once received such a number that have not been of the *Trade*, as grew to be the majority, the *Trade* hath never been able to recover their *Interest*. But some *Companies* have been more cautions, and have never admitted any but those that were of the *Trade*, so that they retain their *Interest* still in *Government*. Of these the *Butchers* were named for one, so that there are always four *Butchers* in the *Council*: The great *Council* consisteth of *two hundred and forty*, but they have no power left them, and they are only assembled upon some extraordinary occasions, when the *little Council* thinketh fit to communicate any important matter to them. There are but six *Bailiages* that belong to *Basil* which are not employments of great advantage; for the best of them doth afford to the *Bailiff*, only a thousand *Livres* a *Year*: They reckon that there are in *Basil* three thousand *Men* that can bear *Arms*, and that they could raise four thousand more out of the *Canton*, so that the *Town* is almost the half of this *State*, and the whole maketh thirty *Parishes*. There are eighteen *Professors* in this *Unversity*; and there is a

Spirit of a more free and generous *Learning* stirring there, than I saw in all those parts. There is a great decency of *Habit* in *Basil*, and the Garb both of the Councillors, Ministers and Professors, their *stiff Ruffs*, and their *long Beards*, have an Air that is August: The appointments are but small, for *Councillors*, *Ministers* and *Professors* have but a hundred *Crowns* a piece: It is true, many *Ministers* are *Professors*, so this mended the matter a little: But perhaps it would go better with the State of *Learning* there, if they had but half the number of *Professors*, and if those were a little better encouraged. No where is the rule of *St. Paul* [of *Womens* having on their heads the Badge of the Authority under which they are brought, which by a phrase that is not extraordinary, he calleth *Power*] better observed than at *Basil*; for all the *Married Women* go to *Church* with a *Coif* on their *Heads*, that is so folded, that as it cometh down so far as to cover their *Eyes*, so another folding covereth also their *Mouth* and *Chin*, so that nothing but the *Nose* appears, and then all turns backward in a folding, that hangeth down to their midleg. This is always *White*; so that there is there such a sight of *White Heads* in their *Churches*, as cannot be found any where else: The *Unmarried Women* wear *Hats*, turned up in the brims before and behind; and the brims of the sides being about a foot broad, stand out far on both hands: This fashion is also at  
Strasburgh,

*Strasburg*, and is worn there also by the *Married Women*.

I mentioned formerly the constant danger to which this *Place* is exposed, from the Neighbourhood of *Hunningen*; I was told, that at first it was pretended, that the *French King* intended to build only a small *Fort* there, and it was believed, that one of the *Burgomasters* of *Basil*, who was thought not only the wisest Man of that *Canton*, but of all *Switzerland*, was gained to lay all Men asleep, and to assure them, that the suffering this *Fort* to be built so near them, was of no importance to them; but now they see too late their fatal Error: For the place is great, and will hold a *Garrison* of three or four thousand Men; it is a *Pentagone*, only the side to the *Rhine* is so large, that if it went round on that side, I believe it must have been a *Hexagone*; the *Bastions* have all *Orillons*, and in the middle of them there is a void space, not filled up with earth, where there is a *Magazine* built so thick in the *Vault*, that it is proof against *Bombs*: The *Ramparts* are strongly faced; there is a large *Ditch*, and before the *Cortine*, in the middle of the *Ditch*, there runs all along a *Horn-work*, which is but ten or twelve foot high; and from the bottom of the *Rampart*, there goeth a *Vault* to this *Horn-work*, that is for conveying of men for its defence; before this *Horn-work* there is a *half Moon*, with this that is peculiar to those new *Fortifications*, that there is

is a *Ditch* that cuts the *half Moon* in an *Angle*, and maketh one *half Moon* within another; beyond that there is a *Counterſcarp* about twelve foot high above the *Water*, with a covered *Way*, and a *Glacy* designed, though not executed; there is also a great *Horn-work* besides all this, which runs out a huge way with its *Out-works* towards *Bafil*; there is also a *Bridge* laid over the *Rhine*, and there being an *Island* in the *River*, where the *Bridge* is laid; there is a *Horn-work* that filleth and fortiſieth it. The *Buildings* in this *Fort* are beautiful, and the *Square* can hold above four thousand *Men*; the *Works* are not yet quite finished, but when all is compleated, this will be one of the strongest places in *Europe*: There is a *Cavelier* on one or two of the *Bastions*, and there are *half Moons* before the *Bastions*, so that the *Switzers* see their danger now, when it is not easie to redress it. This place is situated in a great *Plain*, so that it is commanded by no rising ground on any side of it. I made a little *Tour* into *Alsace*, as far as *Mountbelliard*; the Soil is extream rich, but it hath been so long a *Frontier Country*; and is, by consequence, so ill peopled, that it is in many places over-grown with *Woods*: In one respect it is fit to be the seat of *War*, for it is full of *Iron-works*, which bring a great deal of *Money* into the *Country*. I saw nothing peculiar in the *Iron-works*, there (except that the sides of the great *Bellows* were not of *Leather*, but of *Wood*, which saves much money) so I will not stand to describe them. The *River* of

of the *Rhine*, all from *Basil* to *Spire*, is so low, and is on both sides so covered with *Woods*, that one that cometh down in a Boat hath no sight of the *Country*: The *River* runneth sometimes with such a force, that nothing but such *woods* could preserve its *Banks*, and even these are not able to save them quite; for the *Trees* are often washed away by the very *Roots*, so that in many places those *Trees* lye along in the *Channel* of the *River*: It hath been also thought a sort of a *Fortification* to both sides of the *River*, to have it thus faced with *Woods*, which maketh the passing of *Men* dangerous, when they must march for sometime after their passage through a *defilé*. The first night from *Basil* we came to *Brisac*, which is a poor and miserable *Town*, but it is a noble *Fortification*, and hath on the *West-side* of the *River*, over which a *Bridge* is laid, a regular *Fort* of four or five *Bastions*. The *Town* of *Brisac* riseth all on a *Hill*, which is a considerable height; there were near it two *Hills*, the one is taken within the *Fortification*, and the other is so well levelled with the ground, that one cannot so much as find out where it was; All the ground about for many *Miles* is plain, so that from the *Hill*, as from a *Cavalier*, one can see exactly well, especially with the help of a *Prospect*, all the motions of an *Enemy* in case of a *Siege*: The *Fortification* is of a huge compass, above a *French League*; indeed almost a *German League*; the *Bastions* are quite filled with *Earth*, they



they are faced with *Brick*, and have a huge broad *Ditch* full of *Water* around them, the *Counterscarp*, the covered *Way*, which hath a *Palisade* within the *Parapet*, and the *Glacy*, are all well executed ; there is a *half Moon* before every *Cortine* : the *Bastions* have no *Orillons* except one or two, and the *Cortines* are so disposed, that a good part of them defendeth the *Bastion*. The *Garrison* of this Place in time of *War* must needs be eight or ten thousand *Men* ; there hath not been much done of late to this place, only the *Ditch* is so adjusted, that it is all defended by the *Flanks* of the *Bastions*. But the noblest place on the *Rhine* is *Strasburgh* : it is a *Town* of a huge extent, and hath a double *Wall* and *Ditch* all round it : the inner *Wall* is old, and of no strength, nor is the outward *Wall* very good ; it hath a *Faussebraye*, and is faced with *Brick* twelve or fifteen foot above the *Ditch* : the *Counterscarp* is in an ill condition, so that the *Town* was not in case to make any long resistance ; but it is now strongly fortified. There is a *Cittadel* built on that side that goeth towards the *Rhine*, that is much such a *Fort* as that of *Hunningen*, and on the side of the *Cittadel* towards the *Bridge*, there is a great *Horn-work*, that runs out a great way with *Out-works* belonging to it ; there are also small *Forts* at the two chief *Gates* that lead to *Alsace* ; by which the *City* is so bridled, that these can cut off all its communication with the *Country* about, in case of a *Revolt* : the *Bridge* is also well fortified ;

tified ; there are also *Forts* in some *Islands* in the *Rhine*, and some *Redoubts* : so that all round this place, there is one of the greatest *Fortifications* that is in *Europe*.

Hitherto the *Capitulation*, with relation to *Religion*, hath been well kept , and there is so small a number of new *Converts*, and these are for the greatest part so inconsiderable, they not being in all above two hundred, as I was told, that if they do not imploy the *new-fashioned* *Missionaries à la Dragonné*, the *old ones* are not like to have so great a harvest there as they promised themselves, though they are *Jesuites*. The *Lutherans* for the greatest part, retain their *Animosities* almost to an equal degree both against *Papists* and *Calvinists*. I was in their *Church*, where, if the *Musick* of their *Psalms* pleased me much, the *Irreverence* in *singing*, it being free to keep on, or put off the *Hat*, did appear very strange to me: The *Churches* are full of *Pictures*, in which the chief passages of our *Saviours* Life are represented ; but there is no sort of religious respect paid them ; they bow when they name the *Holy Ghost*, as well as at the Name of *Jesus* ; but they have not the *Ceremonies* that the *Lutherans* of *Saxony* use , which Mr. *Bebel*, their *Professor* of *Divinity*, said was a great happiness ; for a similitude in outward Rites might dispose the ignorant people to change too easily. I found several good people both of the *Lutheran Ministers* and others, acknowledged, that there was such a Corruption of *Morals* spread over the whole *City*, that as they had  
justly

justly drawn down on their heads the Plague of the loss of their Liberty, so this having toucht them so little, they had reason to look for severer strokes: One seeth, in the ruin of this City, what a mischievous thing the popular pride of a free City is: they fancied they were able to defend themselves, and so they refused to let an *Imperial Garrison* come within their *Town*: for if they had received only five hundred *Men*, as that small number would not have been able to have oppressd their Liberties, so it would have so secured the *Town*, that the *French* could not have besieged it, without making War on the *Empire*: but the *Town* thought this was a Diminution of their Freedom, and so chose rather to pay a *Garrison* of three thousand *Souldiers*, which as it exhausted their revenue, and brought them under great *Taxes*, so it proved too weak for their defence when the *French Army* came before them. The *Town* begins to sink in it's *Trade*, notwithstanding the great circulation of *Money* that the expence of the *Fortifications* hath brought to it: but when that is at an end, it will sink more sensibly; for it is impossible for a *Place* of *Trade*, that is to have always eight or ten thousand *Souldiers* in it, to continue long in a flourishing State. There was a great Animosity between two of the chief *Families* of the *Town*, *Dietrick* and *Obrecht*; the former was the *Burgomaster*, and was once almost run down by a Faction that the other had raised against him: but he turned the tide, and got such an advantage against *Obrecht*, who had

had writ somewhat against the Conduct of their Affairs. that he was condemned and beheaded for writing *Libels* against the *Government*. His Son is a learned Man, and was *Professor* of the *Civil Law*: and he to have his turn of revenge against *Dietrick*, went to *Paris* last Summer, and that he might make his Court the better, changed his Religion. *Dietrick* had been always looked on as one of the chief of the *French Faction*, tho he had been at first an *Imperialist*, so it was thought, that he should have been well rewarded; yet it was expected, that to make himself capable of that, he should have changed his *Religion*; but he was an Ancient Man, and would not purchase his Court at that rate: so without any reason given, and against the exprefs words of the *Capitulation*, he was confined to one of the midland *Provinces* of *France*, as I remember, it was *Limosin*; and thus *he*, that hath been thought the chief Cause of this *Town's* falling under the Power of the *French*, is the first Man that hath felt the Effects of it. The *Library* here is considerable; The *Cafe* is a great *Room*, very well contrived; for it is divided into *Closets* all over the Body of the *Room*, which runs about these as a *Gallery*, and in these *Closets* all round there are the *Books* of the several *Professions* lodged a part: There is one for *Manuscripts*, in which there are some of considerable *Antiquity*. I need say nothing to you of the vast height, and the *Gothick Architecture* of the *Steeple* and of the great *Church*, nor of the curious

ous Clock, where there is so vast a variety of motions; for these are well known. The *Bas Reliefs* upon the Tops of the great *Pillars* of the *Church* are not so visible, but they are surprizing; for this being a *Fabrick* of three or four hundred years old, it is very strange to see such Representations as are there. There is a *Procession* represented, in which a Hog carrieth the Pot with the *Holy Water*, and *Asses* and *Hogs* in *Priestly Vestments* follow to make up the *Procession*; there is also an *Ass* standing before an *Altar*, as if he were going to *Consecrate*, and one carrieth a Case with *Reliques*, within which one seeth a *Fox*; and the *Trains* of all that go in this *Procession*, are carried up by *Monkies*. This seems to have been made in hatred of the *Monks*, whom the *Secular Clergy* abhorred at that time, because they had drawn the *Wealth*, and the following of the *World* after them, and they had exposed the *Secular Clergy*, so much for their ignorance, that it is probable after some Ages, the *Monks* falling under the same contempt, the *Secular Clergy* took their turn in exposing them in so lasting a Representation to the Scorn of the *World*. There is also in the *Pulpit* a *Nun* cut in *Wood*, lying along, and a *Fryer* lying near her with his *Breviary* open before him, and his hand under the *Nuns* habit, and the *Nuns* Feet are shod with Iron Shoes. I confess, I did not look for these things; for I had not heard of them; but my Noble Friend Mr. *Ablancourt* viewed them with  
great

great exactness, while he was the *French Kings* Resident at *Strasburgh*, in the company of one of the *Magistrates* that waited on him; and it is upon his credit, to which all that know his eminent sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this particular.

From *Strasburgh* we went down the *Rhine* to *Philipsburgh*, which lieth at a quarter of a Miles distance from the *River*; it is but a small place, the *Bastions* are but little: there is a *Ravellin* before almost all the *Curtines*, and there lye such *Marshes* all round it, that in these lyeth the chief strength of the place. The *French* had begun a great *Crown-work* on the side that lieth to the *Rhine*, and had cast out a *Horn-work* beyond that; but by all that appears, it seems they intended to continue that *Crown-work* quite round the *Town*, and to make a second *Wall* and *Ditch* all round it; which would have enlarged the place vastly, and made a compass capable enough to lodge above ten thousand Men: and this would have been so terrible a Neighbour to the *Palatinate*, and all *Franconia*, that it was a Master-piece in *Charles Lewis*, the late *Electors* *Palatine*, to ingage the *Empire* into this *Siege*. He saw well, how much it concerned him to have it out of the hands of the *French*, so that he took great care to have the *Duke of Lorrain's* *Camp* so well supplied with all things necessary, during the *Siege*, that the *Army* lay not under the least uneasiness all the while. From thence in three hours



hours time we came to *Spire*, which is so naked a *Town*, that if it were attacked, it could not make the least resistance. The *Town* is neither great nor rich, and subsisted chiefly by the *Imperial Chamber* that sitteth here, though there is a constant dispute between the *Town* and the *Chamber* concerning *Priviledges*; for the *Government* of the *Town*, pretends that the *Judges* of the *Chamber*, as they are private Men, and out of the *Court* of *Judicature*, are subject to them; and so about a year ago they put one of the *Judges* in Prison: on the other hand, the *Judges* pretend, that their Persons are sacred. It was the consideration of the *Chamber* that procured to the *Town* the *Neutrality* that they enjoyed all the last *War*. I thought to have seen the forms of this *Court*, and the way of laying up, and preserving their *Records*, but the *Court* was not then sitting. The *Building*, the *Halls* and *Chambers* of this famous *Court* are mean beyond imagination, and look liker the *Halls* of some small Company, than of so great a Body; and I could not see the places where they lay up their *Archieves*; The *Government* of the *City* is all *Lutheran*; but not only the *Cathedral* is in the hands of the *Bishop* and *Chapter*, but there are likewise several *Convents* of both *Sexes*; and the *Jesuites* have also a *Colledge* there. There is little remarkable in the *Cathedral*, which is a huge building in the *Gothick* manner, of the worst sort. The *Tombs* of many *Emperors*, that lye buried there, are remarkable

markable for their meanness ; they being only great *Flag-stones* layed on some small *Stone-ballisters* of a foot and a half high : There are also the marks of a ridiculous *Fable* concerning *St. Bernard*, which is too foolish to be related, yet since they have taken such pains to preserve the remembrance of it, I shall venture to write it. There are from the *Gate* all along the *Nef* of the *Church* up to the *Steps* that go up to the *Quire*, four round *Plates* of *Brass*, above a foot *Diameter*, and at the distance of thirty foot one from another, laid in the pavement ; on the first of these is ingraven, *O Clemens* ; on the second, *O Pia* ; on the third, *O Felix* ; and on the fourth, *Maria* : The last is about thirty foot distant from a *Statue* of the *Virgins* : so they say that *St. Bernard* came up the whole length of the *Church* at *Four Steps*, and that those four *Plates* were laid where he slept : and that at every *Step* he pronounced the word that is ingraven on the *Plate* ; and when he came to the last, the *Image* of the *Virgin* answered him, *Salve Bernarde*, upon which he answered, *Let a Woman keep silence in the Church* ; and that the *Virgins Statue* has kept silence ever since : This last part of the *Story* is certainly very credible. He was a *Man of Learning* that shewed me this ; and he repeated it so gravely to me, that I saw he either believed it, or at least that he had a mind to make me believe it : and I asked him as gravely, if that was firmly believed there ; he told

told me, that one had lately writ a *Book* to prove the truth of it, as I remember, it was a *Jesuit*: He acknowledged, it was not an *Article of Faith*; so I was satisfied. There is in the *Cloister* an old *Gothick* Representation of our *Saviours Agony* in stone, with a great many *Figures* of his *Apostles*, and the *Company* that came to seize him, that is not ill *Sculpture*, for the Age in which it was made, it being some Ages old. The *Calvinists* have a *Church* in this *Town*, but their numbers are not considerable: I was told there were some ancient *Manuscripts* in the *Library*, that belongeth to the *Cathedral*: but one of the *Prebendaries*, to whom I addressed my self, being, according to the *German* Custom, a Man of greater Quality than Learning, told me, he heard they had some ancient *Manuscripts*, but he knew nothing of it; and the *Dean* was absent, so I could not see them; for he kept one of the *Keys*. The *lower Palatinate* is certainly one of the sweetest Countries of all *Germany*: It is a great Plain till one cometh to the *Hills* of *Hidelsberg*: the *Town* is all scituated, just in a bottom, between two ranges of *Hills*, yet the Air is much commended: I need say nothing of the *Castle*, nor the prodigious *Wine-Cellar*, in which, though there is but one celebrated *Tun*, that is seventeen foot high, and twenty six foot long, and is built with a strength liker that of the *Ribs* of a *Ship*, than the *Staves* of a *Tun*; yet there are many other *Tuns* of such a prodigious

gious bigness, that they would seem very extraordinary, if this vast one did not Eclipse them. The late *Prince Charles Lewis* shewed his capacity in the peopling and settling this *State*, that had been so intirely ruined, being for many *Years* the *Seat of War*; for in four years time he brought it to a Flourishing condition: He raised the *Taxes* as high as was possible without dispeopling his Country, all mens *Estates* were valued, and they were taxed at five *per cent.* of the value of their *Estates*; but their *Estates* were not valued to the rigour, but with such abatements as have been ordinary in *England* in the times of *Subsidies*; so that when his *Son* offered to bring the *Taxes* down to two *per Cent* of the real value, the *Subjects* all desired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no *Prince* in *Germany* that is more *absolute* than the *Electör Palatine*; for he layeth on his *Subjects* what *Taxes* he pleaseth, without being limited to any forms of *Government*. And here I saw that which I had always believed to be true, that the *Subjects* of *Germany* are only bound to their particular *Prince*; for they swear *Allegiance* singly to the *Electör*, without any reserve for the *Emperour*; and in their *Prayers* for him, they name him their *Sovereign*. It is true, the *Prince* is under some ties to the *Emperour*; but the *Subjects* are under none. And by this *D. Fabritius*, a learned and judicious *Professor* there, explained those words of *Pareus's* *Commentary* on the *Romans*, which had respect only

to the *Princes* of the *Empire* : and were quite misunderstood by those who fancied that they favoured *Rebellion* ; for there is no place in *Europe* where all rebellious Doctrine is more born down than there. I found a great Spirit of Moderation, with relation to those small *Controversies*, that have occasioned such heat in the *Protestant Churches*, reigning in the *University* there, which is in a great measure owing to the Prudence, the Learning, and the happy *Temper* of *Mind* of *D. Fabritius*, and *D. Miek* ; who as they were long in *England*, so they have that generous largeness of *Soul*, which is the Noble Ornament of many of the *English Divines*. *Prince Charles Lewis* saw that *Manheim* was marked out by Nature to be the most important place of all his *Territory*, it being situated in the point where the *Neckar* falleth into the *Rhine* ; so that those two *Rivers* defending it on two sides, it was capable of a good *Fortification* : It is true, the *Air* is not thought wholesome ; and the *Water* is not good, yet he made a fine *Town* there, and a Noble *Cittadel*, with a regular *Fortification* about it ; and he designed a great *Palace* there, but he did not live to build it. He saw of what advantage *Liberty of Conscience* was to the peopling of his *Country* ; so as he suffered the *Jews* to come and settle there, he resolved also not only to suffer the *three Religions*, tolerated by the *Laws* of the *Empire*, to be professed there, but he built a *Church* for them all *three*, which he called  
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the Church of the Concord, in which both Calvinists, Lutherans and Papists had, in the order which I have set them down, the exercise of their Religion; and he maintained the peace of his Principality so intirely, that there was not the least Disorder occasioned by this Tolleration: This indeed made him to be lookt on as a Prince that did not much consider Religion himself: He had a wonderful application to all affairs, and was not only his own chief Minister, but he alone did the work of many.

But I were Injust if I should not say somewhat to you, of the Princely Vertues and the Celebrated Probity of the present Pr. Elector, upon whom that Dignity is devoied by the extinction of so many Princes; that in this Age composed the most numerous Family of any of that rank in Europe. This Prince, as he is in many respects an honour to the Religion that he professes, so is in nothing more to be commended by those who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the Promises he made his Subjects with relation to their Religion, in which he has not (even in the smallest matters) broke in upon their established Laws; and though an Order of Men, that have turned the World up-side down, have great credit with him, yet it is hitherto visible, that they cannot carry it so far, as to make him do any thing contrary to the established Religion; and so those sacred Promises that he made his Subjects. For he makes it appear to all the World, that



that he does not consider those, as so many words  
 spoken to satisfy his People, as they say  
 upon occasion and self-justification; but as so  
 many Ties upon his Conscience and Honour, which  
 he will Religiously observe. And as in the other  
 parts of his Life, he has set a Noble Pattern to  
 all the Princes of Europe, for his exactness to his  
 Promises, is that which cannot be too much com-  
 mended: of which this extraordinary Influence  
 has been communicated to me, since I am come  
 into this Country. The Election had a Procession  
 in his Court last Corpus Christi day, upon which  
 one of the Ministers of Heidelberg preach't a very  
 severe Sermon against Popery, and in particular  
 taxed that Profession perhaps with greater plain-  
 ness than discretion: This being brought to the  
 Electors Ears, he sent presently an Order to the  
 Ecclesiastical Senate to suspend him. That Court  
 is composed of some Secular Members and some  
 Churchmen, and as the Princes Authority is dele-  
 gated to them, so they have a sort of an Epi-  
 scopal jurisdiction over all the Clergy: This Order  
 was a surprise to them, as being a direct breach  
 upon their Laws and the liberty of their Religi-  
 on: so they sent a Deputation to Court, to let the  
 Elector know the reasons that hindered them from  
 obeying his Orders, which were heard with so  
 much Justice and Gentleness, that the Prince,  
 instead of expressing any Displeasure against  
 them, recalled the Order that he had sent them.  
 The way from Heidelberg to Frankfort, is, for the  
 first

first twelve or fifteen Miles, the beautifullest piece of ground that can be imagined; for we went under a ridge of little Hills, that are all covered with Vines, and from them, as far as the eye can go, there is a beautiful Plain of Corn-fields and Meadows, all sweetly divided and inclosed with rows of Trees, so that I fancied I was in Lombardy again, but with this advantage, that here all was not of a piece, as it is in Lombardy; but the Hills, as they made a pleasant inequality in the prospect, so they made the Air purer, and produced a pleasant Wine. The way near Darmstat, and all forwards to Frankfort, becometh more wild and more sandy: There is a good Suburb on the South-side of the Main, over against Frankfort, which hath a very considerable Fortification; there is a double Wall, and a double Ditch, that goeth round it; and the outward Wall, as it is regularly fortified, so it is faced with Brick to a considerable height. The Town of Frankfort is of a great extent, and seemed to be but about a third part less than Strassburgh: The three Religions are also tolerated there; and though the number of the Papists is very inconsiderable, yet they have the great Church, which is a huge rude building; they have also several other Churches, and some Convents there. There are several open Squares for Market places, and the Houses about them look very well without. Among their Archives, they preserve the Original of the Bulla Aurea, which

is only a great *Parchment* writ in *High Duth*, without any beauty answering to its Title: and since I could not have understood it, I was not at the pains of desiring to see it; for that is not obtained without difficulty. The *Lutherans* have here built a new *Church*, called *St. Catherines*, in which there is as much *Painting* as ever I saw in any *Popish Church*; and over the *high Altar* there is a huge carved *Crucifix*, as there are *Painted ones* in other places of their *Church*: The *Pulpit* is extream fine, of *Marble* of different colours, very well polished and joyned. I was here at *Sermon*, where I understood nothing; but I liked one thing that I saw both at *Stratsburgh* and here, that at the end of *Prayers*, there was a considerable interval of silence left, before the conclusion, for all *Peoples* private *Devotions*. In the *House* of their *publick Discipline*, they retain still the old *Roman Pistrina* or *Hand-mill*; at which *lewd Women* are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the *Wheel* that maketh the *Milstones* go. There is a great number of *Jews* there, though their two *Synagogues* are very little, and by consequence, the *Numbers* being great, they are very nasty. I was told, they were in all above *twelve hundred*. The *Women* had the most of a tawdry *Imbrodery* of *Gold* and *Silver* about them that ever I saw; for they had all *Mantles* of *Crape*, and both about the top and the bottom, there was a border above a hand breadth of *Imbrodery*. The *Fortifica-*

tion of *Frankfort* is considerable; their *Ditch* is very broad, and very full of *Water*; all the *Bastions* have a *Countermine*, that runneth along by the brim of the *Ditch*; but the *Counterscarp* is not faced with *Brick* as the *Walls* are, and so in many places it is in an ill condition; the covered *Way* and *Glacy* are also in an ill case: The *Town* is rich, and driveth a great *Trade*, and is very pleasantly scituated. Not far from hence is *Hockam*, that yieldeth the best *Wine* of those parts. Since I took *Frankfort* in my way from *Heidelberg* to *Mentz*, I could not pass by *Worms*, for which I was sorry. I had a great mind to see that place where *Luther* made his first appearance before the *Emperour*, and the *Diet*, and in that solemn *Audience* expressed an undaunted Zeal for that *Glorious Cause* in which God made him such a blessed *Instrument*. I had another piece of Curiosity on me, which will perhaps appear to you somewhat ridiculous. I had a mind to see a *Picture*, that as I was told, is over one of the *Popish Altars* there, which one would think was Invented by the *Enemies* of *Transubstantiation* to make it appear ridiculous. There is a *Windmill*, and the *Virgin* throws *Christ* into the *Hopper*, and he comes out at the *Eye* of the *Mill* all in *Wafers*, which some *Priests* take up to give to the *People*. This is so coarse an Emblem, that one would think it too gross even for *Laplanders*; but a Man that can swallow *Transubstantiation* it self, will digest this likewise. *Mentz* is very

nobly situated, on a rising ground, a little below the conjunction of the two Rivers, the Rhine and the Main; it is of too great a compass, and too ill peopled to be capable of a great defence; there is a Citadel upon the highest part of the Hill that commandeth the Town; it is compassed about with a dry Ditch, that is considerably deep. The Walls of the Town are faced with Brick, and regularly fortified, but the Counterscarp is not faced with Brick, so all is in a sad condition; and the Fortification is weakest on that side where the Electors Palace is. There is one side of a new Palace very nobly built in a regular Architecture, only the Germans do still retain somewhat of the Gothick manner; It is of a great length, and the design is to build quite round the Court, and then it will be a very magnificent Palace, only the Stone is red; for all the Quarries that are upon the Rhine, from Basil down to Coblentz, are of red stone, which doth not look beautiful. The Elector of Mentz is an absolute Prince: his Subjects present Lists of their Magistrates to him, but he is not tied to them and may name whom he will: The Ancient Demeain of the Electorat is about forty thousand Crowns: but the Taxes rise to above three hundred thousand Crowns; so that the Subjects here are as heavily taxed as in the Palatinate: There is twelve thousand Crowns a year given the Elector for his privy Purse, and the State bears the rest of his whole expence: It can Arm ten thousand Men, and there is a

Garrison of two thousand Men in *Mentz*: this Elector hath three Councils; one as he is *Chanceller* of the *Empire*; consisting of three persons: The other two are for the *Policy* and *Justice* of his *Principality*. He, and his *Chapen* have *Months* by turns for the *Nomination* of the *Priebeats*. In the Month of *January* he names if any dyes; and they chuse in the Room of such as dye in *February*, and so for all the year round. The *Prebendaries* or *Dome-Heers* have about three thousand *Crowns* a year a piece. When the *Election* dieth; the *Emperour* sendeth one to see the *Election* made; and he recommendeth one; but the *Canons* may chuse whom they please; and the present *Electors* was not of the *Emperours* Recommendation. Besides the *Palace* at *Mentz*, the *Election* hath another near *Frankfort*; which is thought the best that is in those parts of *Germany*: The *Cathedral* is a huge *Gothick* Building; there is a great *Cupol* in the West-end, and there the *Quire* singeth *Mass*: I could not learn whether this was done only because the place here was of greater reception than at the East-end; or if any burying place and indowments obliged them to the West-end. Near the *Cathedral* there is a huge *Chappel* of great Antiquity, and on the North Door there are two great *Brass* Gates with a long *Inscription*, which I had not time to write out, but I found it was in the *Emperours* *Lotharins* time. There are a vast number of *Charches* in this *City* but it is poor and ill inhabited. The *Rome* here is almost



almost half an *English* Mile broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats lay'd over it. From *Mentz* all along to *Baccharach* (which seems to carry it's name [*Bacchi Ara*] from some famous *Altar* that the *Romans* probably erected by reason of the good *Wine* that grows in the Neighbourhood.) There is a great number of very considerable *Villages* on both sides of the *River*: Here the *Rats Tower* is shewed, and the *People* of the *Country* do all firmly believe the *Story* of the *Rats* eating up an *Electo*r, and that though he fled to this *Island*, where he built a small high *Tower*, they pursued him still, and swimm'd after him, and eat him up: and they told us, that there were some of his *Bones* to be seen still in the *Tower*. This extraordinary death makes me call to mind a very particular and unlooked for sort of *Death*, that carried off a poor *Labourer* of the ground a few days before I left *Geneva*. The *Foot* of one of his *Cattel*, as he was ploughing, went into a *Nest* of *Wasps*, upon which the whole *Swarm* came out, and set upon him that held the *Plow*, and killed him in a very little time; and his *Body* was prodigiously swelled with the *Poyson* of so many *Stings*. But to return to the *Rhine*; all the way from *Baccharach* down to *Coblentz*, there is on both sides of the *River* hanging Grounds, or little *Hills*, so laid, as if many of them had been laid by *Art*, which produce the rich *Rhenish Wine*. They are indeed as well exposed to the *Sun*, and covered from *Storms*, as can be imagined; and the

the Ground on those *Hills*, which are in some places of a considerable height, is so cultivated, that there is not an inch lost that is capable of improvement, and this bringeth so much Wealth into the Country, that all along there is a great number of considerable *Villages*. *Coblentz* is the strongest place that I saw of all that belong to the *Empire*; the situation is Noble, the *Rhine* running before it, and the *Moselle* passing along the side of the *Town*; it is well fortified, the *Ditch* is large, the *Counterscarp* is high, and the covered *Way* is in a good Condition; both *Walls* and *Counterscarp* are faced with *Brick*, and there are *Ravelines* before the *Curtines*; but on the side of the *Moselle* it is very slightly fortified, and there is no *Fort* at the end of the *Stone Bridge* that is laid over the *Moselle*, so that it lieth quite open on that side, which seemeth a strange defect in a place of that consequence: But though the *Fortifications* of this place are very considerable, yet its chief defence lieth in the *Fort of Hermanstan*, which is built on the top of a very high *Hill*, that lyeth on the other side of the *Rhine*; and which commandeth this place so absolutely, that he who is Master of *Hermanstan*, is always Master of *Coblentz*. This belongeth to the *Elector of Triers*, whose *Palace* lyeth on the East-side of the *Rhine*, just at the Foot of the *Hill of Hermanstan*, and over against the point where the *Moselle* falleth into the *Rhine*, so that nothing can be more pleasantly situated; only the ground begins to

rise juſt at the back of the Houſe with ſo much ſteepneſs, that there is not Room for Gardens or Walks. The Houſe maketh a great ſhew upon the River, but we were told, that the Apartments within were not answerable to the outside. I ſay, we were told; for the German Princes keep ſuch forms, that, without a great deal of ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unleſs it be when they are abroad themſelves; ſo that we neither got within the Palace at Mentz, nor this of *Hermanſtan*. It is but a few Hours from this to *Bonne*, where the *Elector of Collen* keepeth his Court: The Place hath a regular Fortification; the Walls are faced with Brick; but though the *Ditch*, which is dry, is pretty broad, the Counterſcarp is in ſo ill a condition, that it is not able to make a great defence. This *Elector* is the Nobleſt born, and the beſt provided of all the German Clergy; for he is Brother to the Great *Maximilian Duke of Bavaria*; and beſides *Collen*, he hath *Liege*, *Münſter*, and *Hildelſheim*, which are all great *Biſhopricks*: He hath been alſo ſix and thirty years in the *Electorate*: His Palace is very mean, conſiſting but of one Court; the half of which is caſt into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard is in the very Court; the lower part of the Court was a Stable: but he hath made an Apartment here, that is all furniſhed with Pictures; where, as there are ſome of the hands of the greateſt Maſters, ſo there are a great many ſoils to let theſe off, that are ſcarce good enough for Signpoſts.

The

The *Elector* has a great many *Gold Medals*, which will give me occasion to tell you one of the Extravagantest pieces of *Forgery* that perhaps ever was; which hapned to be found out at the last Siege of *Bonne*: for while they were clearing the ground for planting a *Battery*, they discovered a *Vault*, in which there was an *Iron Chest* that was full of *Medals of Gold* to the value of 100000 *Crowns*; and of which I was told the *Elector* bought to the value of 30000 *Crowns*. They are huge big, one weighed 800. *Ducats*, and the *Gold* was of the fineness of *Ducat Gold*: but though they bore the Impressions of *Roman Medals*, or rather *Medallions*, they were all *Counterfeit*; and the imitation was so coarsely done, that one must be extream Ignorant in *Medals* to be deceived by them. Some few that seemed true, were of the late *Greeks Emperors*. Now it is very unaccountable, what could induce a Man to make a *Forgery* upon such *Mettle*, and in so vast a quantity, and then to bury all this under ground, especially in an Age in which so much *Gold* was ten times the value of what it is at present; for it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred years ago.

The *Prince* went out a Hunting while we were there, with a very handsome Guard of about fourscore *Horse*, well mounted; so we saw the *Palace*; but were not suffered to see the *Apartment* where he lodged: There is a great *Silver Casolerte gilt*, all set with *Emeralds* and *Rubies*, that though they

they made a fine appearance, yet were a Composition of the *Princes* own making: His Officers also shewed us a *Basin* and *Ewer*, which they said were of *Mercury* fixed by the *Prince* himself; but they added, that now for many years he wrought no more in his *Laboratory*. I did not easily believe this, and as the weight of the *Plate* did not approach to that of *Quick Silver*, so the Medicinal Vertue of fixed *Mercury* (if there is any such thing) are so extraordinary, that it seemed very strange to see twenty or thirty pound of it made up in two pieces of *Plate*. A quarter of a mile without the *Town*, the best *Garden* of those parts of *Germany* is to be seen, in which there is a great variety of *Water-works*, and very many Noble *Allies* in the *French* manner, and the whole is of a very considerable extent; but as it hath no *Statues* of any value to adorn it, so the House about which it lyeth, is in *Ruins*: and it is strange to see, that so rich and so great a *Prince*, during so long a *Regency*, hath done so little to enlarge or beautifie his Buildings. *Bonne* and *Coblentz* are both poor and small Towns. *Collen* is three hours distant from *Bonne*, it is of a prodigious extent, but ill built and worse peopled in the remote parts of it: and as the *Walls* are all in an ill case, so it is not possible to fortify so vast a compass as this *Town* maketh, as it ought to be, without a charge that would eat out the whole Wealth of this little State. The *Jews* live in a little *Suburb* on the other side of the *River*, and

and may not come over, without leave obtained, for which they pay considerably. There is no Exercise of the *Protestant Religion* suffered within the *Town*, but those of the *Religion* are suffered to live there, and they have a *Church* at two miles distance. The *Arsenal* here, is suitable to the *Fortifications*, very mean, and ill furnished. The *Quire* of the Great *Church* is as high in the roof, as any *Church* I ever saw; but it seemeth the Wealth of this place could not finish the whole *Fabrick*, so as to answer the height of the *Quire*; for the *Body* of the *Church* is very low: Those that are disposed to believe *Legends*, have enough here to overset even a good degree of *Credulity*, both in the Story of the *Three Kings*, whose *Chapel* is visited with great *Devotion*, and standeth at the East end of the Great *Quire*; and in that more copious *Fable* of the eleven thousand *Ursulins*, whose *Church* is all over full of rough *Tombs*, and of a vast number of *Bones*, that are piled up in rows about the Walls of the *Church*: These *Fables* are so firmly believed by the *Papists* there, that the least sign which one giveth of doubting of their truth, passeth for an infallible Mark of an *Heretick*. The *Jesuites* have a great and Noble *Colledge* and *Church* here. And for *Thauler's* sake I went to the *Dominicans* House and *Church*, which is also very great. One grows extream weary of walking over this great *Town*, and doth not find enough of entertainment in it: The present Subject of their Discourse



course is also very melancholy: the late *Rebellion* that was there, is so generally known, that I need not say much concerning it. A report was set about the *Town*, by some *Incendaries*, that the *Magistrates* did eat up the *publick Revenue*, and were like to ruin the *City*; I could not learn what ground there was for these reports; for it is not ordinary to see reports of that kind fly through a body of Men, without some Foundation: It is certain, this came to be so generally believed that there was a horrible disorder occasioned by it; The *Magistrates* were glad to save themselves from the Storm, and Abandoned the *Town* to the popular Fury, some of them having been made Sacrifices to it; and this Rage held long. But within this last year, after near two years disorder, those that were sent by the *Emperor* and *Diet* to judge the matter, having threatned to put the *Town* under the *Imperial Ban*, if it had stood longer out, were received; and have put the *Magistrates* again in the possession of their Authority, and all the Chief *Incendaries* were clapt in Prison: many have already suffered, and a great many more are still in Prison: they told us, that some Executions were to be made within a week when we were there. *Dusseldorp* is the first considerable *Town* below *Collen*, it is the Seat of the *Duke of Juliers*, who is *Duke of Newburgh*, Eldest Son to the present *Electer Palatine*. The *Palace* is old and Gothic enough: but the *Jesuits* have there a fine *Colledge*, and a noble *Chappel*, though there

there are manifest faults in the *Architecture*: the *Protestant Religion* is Tolerated, and they have a *Church* built here within these few years, that was procured by the intercession of the *Elector of Brandenburg*, who observing exactly the *Liberty of Religion* that was agreed to in *Cleve*, had reason to see the same as duly observed in his Neighbourhood, in favour of his own *Religion*. The *Fortification* here is very ordinary, the *Ramparts* being faced but a few foot high with *Brick*. But *Keiserswart*, some hours lower on the same side, which belongeth to the *Elector of Collen*, though it is a much worse *Town* than *Dusseldorp*, yet is much better fortified: it hath a very broad *Ditch*, and a very regular *Fortification*: the *Walls* are considerably high, faced with *Brick*, and so is the *Counterscarp*, which is also in a very good Condition. The *Fortification* of *Ossey* is now quite demolished. *Rhinebergh* continueth as it was, but the *Fortification* is very mean, only of *Earth*, so that it is not capable of making a great *Resistance*. And *Wesel*, though it is a very fine *Town*, yet is a very poor *Fortification*, nor can it ever be made good, except at a vast expence: for the ground all about it being sandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unless the *Foundation* go very deep, or that it be laid upon *Pilory*. In all these *Towns* one sees another *Air of Wealth*; and *Abundance* than in much richer *Countries*, that are exhausted with *Taxes*. *Rees* and *Emmerick* are good *Towns*,  
but

but the *Fortifications* are quite ruined. So that here is a rich and a populous *Country*, that hath at present very little Defence, except what it hath from its Scituation. *Cleve* is a delicious Place, the Scituation and Prospect are Charming, and the Air is very pure; and from thence we came hither in three hours.

I will not say one word of the *Country* into which I am now come; for as I know that is needless to you on many accounts, so a *Picture* that I see here in the *Stadthouse*, puts me in mind of the perfectest *Book* of its kind that is perhaps in being; for *Sir William Temple*, whose *Picture* hangeth here at the upper-end of the *Plenipotentiaries* that negotiated the famous *Treaty of Nimwegen*, hath indeed set a pattern to the World, which is done with such life, that it may justly make others blush to copy after it, since it must be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an account of the other *Places*, as he hath given us of one of the least, but yet one of the Noblest parcels of the *Universe*, *Travelling* would become a needless thing, unless it were for diversion: since one findeth no further occasion for his Curiosity in this *Country*, than what is fully satisfied by his rare performance; yet I cannot give over Writing, without reflecting on the Resistance that this *Place* made, when so many other *Places* were so basely delivered up, though one doth not see in the ruins of the *Fortification* here, how it could make so long a resistance; yet  
it.

it was that that stem'd the tide of a progress that made all the World stand amazed; and it gave a little time to the *Dutch* to recover themselves out of the Consternation, into which so many blows, that came so thick one after another, had struck them.

But then the World saw a change, that tho it hath not had so much Incense given to it, as the happy Conjecture of another *Prince* hath drawn after it, with so much excess, that all the Topicks of flattery seem exhausted by it, yet will appear to posterity one of the most surprising Scenes in *History*, and that which may be well matched with the recovery of the *Roman State* after the Battle of *Canne*. When a *Young Prince*, that had never before born *Arms*, or so much as seen a *Campaign*, who had little or no *Council* about him, but that which was suggested from his own thoughts, and that had no extraordinary advantage by his *Education*, either for *Literature* or *Affairs*, was of a sudden set at the Head of a *State* and *Army*, that was sunk with so many losses, and that saw the best half of its Soil torn from it, and the powerfulest Enemy in the World, surrounded with a Victorious *Army*, that was Commanded by the best *Generals* that the *Age* hath produced, come within sight, and settle his *Court* in one of its best *Towns*, and had at the same time the greatest force both by Sea and Land, that hath been known, united together for its destruction. When the *Inhabitants* were

were forced, that they might save themselves from so formidable an *Enemy*, to let loose that which on all other occasions, is the most dreadful to them; and to *drown* so great a part of their Soil, for the preservation of the rest; and to complicate together all the Miseries that a *Nation* can dread, when to the general consternation, with which so dismal a *Scene* possessed them, a distraction within doors seemed to threaten them with the last strokes; and while their *Army* was so ill disciplined, that they durst scarce promise themselves any thing from such feeble *Troops*, after a *Peace* at Land of almost *thirty Years* continuance; and while their chief *Ally*, that was the most concerned in their preservation, was, like a great paralytic body, liker to fall on those that it pretended to support, and to crush them, than to give them any considerable assistance: When, I say, a *young Prince* came at the *Head* of all this, the very prospect of which would have quite damped an ordinary *Courage*, he very quickly changed the *Scene*, he animated the *Public Councils* with a generous vigour: he found them sinking into a feebleness of hearkening to *Propositions* for a *Peace*, that were as little safe as they were honourable; but he disposed them to resolve on hazarding all, rather than to submit to such infamous *Terms*. His credit also among the *Populace* seemed to inspire them with a new *Life*; they easily persuaded themselves, that as one *WILLIAM Prince* of *ORANGE* had formed their *State*, so here another of the same name

name seemed marked out to recover and preserve it. It was this Spirit of *Courage* which he derived from his own Breast, and infused into the whole People, as well as into the *Magistracy*, that preserved this *Country*. Something there was in all this that was Divine. The *public Councils* were again settled, and the people were at quiet, when they saw him vested with a full Authority for that time with relation to *Peace* and *War*, and concluded they were safe, because they were in his hands. It soon appeared how faithfully he pursued the *Interest* of his *Country*, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all *Propositions* of *Peace* that were hurtful to his *Country*, without so much as considering the *Advantages* that were offered to him-  
himself (in which you know that I write upon sure grounds.) He refused the offer of the *Sovereignty* of it's Chief City, that was made to him by a solemn *Deputation*, being satisfied with that Authority which had been so long maintained by his Ancestors with so much glory, and being justly sensible, how much the breaking in upon established *Laws* and *Liberties*, is fatal even to those that seem to get by it. He thus began his publick appearance on the *Stage*, with all the disadvantages that a Spirit aspiring to true Glory could wish for; since it was Visible; that he had nothing to trust, to, but a good Cause, a favourable Providence, and his own Integrity and Courage; nor was success wanting to such Noble Beginnings; for he in a short time, with a Conduct and Spirit beyond any  
thing



thing that the World hath yet seen, recovered this *State*, out of so desperate a distemper, took some Places by main force, and obliged the Enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in so feeble a manner. And if a raw *Army* had not always success, against more numerous and better-trained *Troops*, and if the want of *Magazines* and *Stores* in their *Allies* Country, which was the chief *Scene* of the *War*, made that he could not *Post* his *Army*, and wait for favourable Circumstances, so that he was sometime forced to run to *Action*, with a haste that his Necessities imposed upon him; yet the forcing of the beginnings of a *Victory* out of the hands of the greatest General of the Age, the facing a great *Monarch* with an *Army* much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an engagement; and in short, the forming the *Dutch Army* to such a pitch, that it became visibly *Superior* to the *French*, that seemed to have been fed with Conquests; and the continuing the *War*, till the *Prince* that had sacrificed the quiet of *Europe* to his *Glory*, was glad to come and treat for a *Peace* in the *Enemies* Country, and in this very place, and to set all Engines on work to obtain that, by the Mediation of some, and the Jealousies of other *Princes*: all these are such Performances, that Posterity will be disposed to rank them rather among the Ideas of what an imaginary *Hero* could do, than with what could be really Transacted in so short a time, and in such a manner. And in conclusion, every place that

that belonged to these *States*, and to their *Neighbours* along the *Rhine*, together with a great many in *Flanders*, being restored, these *Provinces* do now see themselves under his happy *Conduct*, re-established in their former *Peace* and *Security*. And though some Scars of such deep Wounds do still remain, yet they find themselves considered on all hands, as the *Bulwark* of *Christendom*, against the Fears of a *New Monarchy*, and as the Preservers of the *Peace* and *Liberty* of *Europe*.

Here is a *Harvest*, not for forced Rhetorick, or false Eloquence, but for a severe and sincere *Historian*, capable of affording a Work that will far exceed all those luscious Panegyricks of Mercenary Pens: but a small or a counterfeit Jewel must be set with all possible Advantages, when a true one of great value needs only to be shewed. I cannot end with a greater Subject, and I must acknowledge my self to be so inflamed with this hint, that as I cannot after this bring my pen down to lower matters, so I dare not trust my self too long, to the hear that so Noble an Object inspires, therefore I break off abruptly,

YOURS.

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# An APPENDIX,

Containing some Remarks, that have been sent to me by a Person of Quality.

A Person of great Rank, that is of Italian extraction, and that by consequence knows the Country well, having spent much of his time in it, had heard that I was giving the World an Account of the Reflections that I had made on the present State of Italy, and upon that he writ, the following Paper to one of his Friends, to be communicated to me; for I have not the honour of any Commerce with himself: The Observations that he had made, agreed so exactly with my own, that I thought it would be no small advantage towards the supporting the Credit of those that I had made, to find them confirmed by so extraordinary a Person, whose Character (as those who know him well have assured me) is so undisputed, that if I durst name him, this alone would serve to establish the belief of the most critical parts of my Letters in the minds of all that should read his Paper: but since I cannot adventure on this, without obtaining his Leave, and since he is now at such a distance, that it is not easie to get his Friend to write to him, or to receive an Answer from him time enough, therefore I have added this Memorial faithfully Translated into English. There are two Particulars in which He and I differ, and in so great a Variety of Observations,

variations, that are so Critical, and so much out of the Common road, it will not appear strange, if there should be some disagreement, when he mentions the Tax that the Pope has laid on the Corn; he does not add one thing which I mention, and that is, that the Measure, by which the Pope sells, is by a fifth part less than that by which he buys: The other is more considerable; for in the Account that he gives of the present Pope's breaking in upon the Settlement of the Bank, though it is upon the matter very near the same with that which I give, yet there is a difference of some Importance as to the manner of doing it; but as to that, all I can say, is, that the first Account I had of this Transaction, was the same that is in this Gentlemans Paper; but afterwards I had occasion to talk of this matter very Copiously with one, that has lived many years in the Popes Dominions, and that has dealt much in these Affairs; he has now a Character upon him, and so it is not expedient to name him: It was from him that I had the particular recital of this matter, and therefore I thought it safer to go upon the Information that I had from him, than upon the general Report that all Strangers may find at Rome. This Paper had been more copious, if the Person that wrote it, had not been restrained by some particular Considerations from saying any thing relating to the Government of Venice.

## REMARKS

## UPON SWITZERLAND.

**I**T is very surprising when one comes out of *France*, (which is an Extraordinary good Country), into *Switzerland*, which is not near so fertile, and yet to see so great a difference between the People of those two Countries. The People in *France*, and especially the *Peasants*, are very poor, and most of them reduced to great Misery and Want. The People in *Switzerland* cannot be said to be very Rich; but yet there are very few, even amongst the *Peasants* themselves that are miserably poor; the most part of them have enough to live upon, from their Labour, and the Fruits of the Earth. Every where in *France*, even in the best *Citys*, there are Swarms of *Beggars*; and yet scarce any to be seen throughout all *Switzerland*. The Houses of the *Peasants*, or Country-people in *France* are extremely mean, and in them no other Furniture to be found besides poor nasty Beds, straw Chairs, and Plates and Dishes of Wood and Earth. In *Switzerland* the *Peasants* have their Houses furnished with good Feather-Beds, good Chairs, and other Householdstuff for their Convenience, as well as their Necessity; their Windows are all of Glass, always kept mended and whole, and their Linnen very

very neat and white, and as well for their Bedding as their Tables.

*Of the GRISONS Countrey.*

THE *Grisons* Country is much more Barren than *Switzerland*, because 'tis wholly upon the *Mountains*, which produce nothing at all; yet notwithstanding (all Excess and Luxury being banished from amongst them, and the Inhabitants being extreemly Laborious) there are none to be seen there that are very poor and needy; but they live at Ease, and there are a great many Gentry of good Estates. Their Government is altogether *Popular*; there are but three or four Royalties belonging to Nobility in all the Country. All the rest of their Lands are in Demean, which may yet well be called Royalties too, because exempt from all dues and payments whatsoever. There is nothing at all to be pay'd for bringing into the Country any sort of Goods or Merchandises, or for exporting of them thence; every one there fully enjoys the Fruit of his own Labours, and the Revenues of his Land; although the Wine they drink is brought upon Horses four or five days Journey, yet they have it cheaper there than in most parts of *Italy* or *France*, where it so plentifully grows. There are *Villages* upon the very tops of the *Mountains*, consisting of 150. and 200. Houses a piece; and although they have no Corn or

P

Grain



Grain that grows there, and but very little Grass, yet the *Peasants* keep three or four hundred Horses which they imploy to carry Goods and Merchandises, which turns to so good account that they live very well, and want nothing either for the Necessity or Convenience of life. The *Inns* upon the Mountains are very good; and there is always to be had, besides good Bread and Wine, great quantity of Game and Venison, according to the Season of the Year, good Trouts, very good Chambers, and Beds after the manner of the Country. When you leave the *Grisons* Country, and are come into the Country of *Cbavenne* the People begin to speak broken *Italian*: although this latter is a more fertil Country, yet the Inhabitants and *Peasants* do not live so well as in the *Grisons* Country, for that the Natives are more slothful and lazy: and here again there are abundance of poor People, as you will find in all parts of *Italy*.

### Of the Bailiage of LUGANE.

There are on the other side of the Mountains four *Bailiages*, which were formerly part of the *Dutchy of Milan*; *Lewis XII.* when he lost that *Dutchy*, gave these *Bailiages* to some of the *Switz Cantons*. These *Bailiages* are called, *Lugane*, *Lucarno*, *Mendris*, and *Belinston*: I shall only take notice of the *Bailiage of Lugane*, which contains

contains ninety nine *Villages*: The Territories of this *Bailiage* and of the others, are not near so good as that of *Milan*, to which it joyns; yet the *Villages* of this *Bailiage* are very populous; the Land is very fruitful, because it is well cultivated, and all the Inhabitants live contented and well; There are no *Beggars* amongst them, nor hardly any Object of Misery and Want: Their Houses are all good, well built, and kept in good repair. The Territory of *Milan* is certainly one of the best in all *Italy*; it produceth Wine, Corn and Oyl in abundance, very great quantity of Silk, and (generally speaking) all sorts of Fruits; there is also excellent Pasture for Cattle, and yet the *Peasants* there do not live so well by much as in the *Bailiage* of *Lugane*; for there is a great deal of Land that lyes unmanur'd, and the Country is not near so populous as in *Lugane*. There can be no other Reason given for this Difference but that *Milan* is under the Dominion of *Spain*: That the *People* are loaden with Imposts, Subsidies and Taxes, which makes them very poor; whereas the *People* of *Lugane* are under the Government of *Switzerland*, who put no Taxes or Subsidies upon them.

### Remarks upon the LAKES.

I Do not know that in the Kingdom of *France*, as it was thirty years since, there were any *Lakes*, except perhaps in the Mountains of *Dauphiné*.

*phiné.* From the *Lake of Four* to the *Lake of Garde*, which is at *Desenesan*, between *Bresse* and *Veronne*, in the Territories of *Venice*, there are a great number of *Lakes*; one of the most considerable is that of *Geneva*; then there is the *Lake of Newchattel*, the *Lake d'Yverdun*, the *Lake of Morat*, the *Lake of Bienne*, the *Lake of Quinti*, the *Lake of Lucerne*, the *Lake of Constance*, the *Lake of Valestat*, and many others in the Mountains of *Switzerland*. There is on the other side the Mountains a great and considerable *Lake*, called *Come*, also the *Lake of Lugane*, the *Lake Major*, which is above 60 miles long, and likewise the *Lake de Garde*. All these *Lakes* are replenish'd with most excellent Fish, and particularly *Trouts*; but in the *Lake de Garde* there is found an admirable Fish, called *Carpion*, which is far more delicate than either *Trout* or *Salmon*, but they are not so great; for those of the largest size do not weigh above fifteen Pounds. I do not think that in any part of *Europe* there are so many fine *Lakes* to be found in so narrow a Compass, as those which I have here mentioned.

### Concerning the Dutchy of FERRARA.

THE Duke of Ferrara hath always been but a little Prince, because his Dominions are not very great; yet there have been several of the said Dukes for above 150. years ago, and since,

since, that have made a handsome Figure, and held a considerable Rank amongst the *Princes of Italy*. The Country was formerly very populous, and the Lands being fertile, and well cultivated: The Revenue of the *Prince* were considerable, and he kept a good Court. But since that *Dutchy* is devolved upon the *See of Rome*, by the Death of the last *Duke*, who dyed without Issue Male, the Country is almost depopulated: the most part of the Lands are desolate; and for several Years last past the *Dutchy* is infected with Diseases, purely for want of Inhabitants. There were formerly in the Time of the *Dukes of Ferrara*, more than one hundred thousand People, and at present there are not 15000. The Grass grows in the Streets, and most of the Houses are void.

*Polesino* is one of the best parts of *Italy*; and that part of it which is possessed by the *Venetians*, is very well cultivated and populous; and 'tis one of the best of their small Provinces. As soon as you pass the great Arm of the River *Po*, which is called the *Lagoscuro*, which separates that part of the *Polesino* which belongs to the *Venetians*, from that which belongs to the *Pope*, although the Land and Country is the very same, yet the most part of those Lands of the *Polesino*, which belongs to the *Ecclesiastical State*, are desolate and wast: The Grass lyes withered and rotten upon the ground, because there is no body takes care to mow it; and in passing through great Villages,

lages, you'l find all the Houses abandon'd, and not one Inhabitant to be found. It is not easily to be imagined how it is possible, that a Country so populous and flourishing, should in less than 80. years be so entirely ruined and dispeopled: by this it is very apparent, that no Subjects are so unhappy, as those that live under the Domination of the Clergy.

### Concerning the Estates of BOLOGNIA.

**I**F the Popes had been able to have made themselves masters of Bologna, as they have done of Ferrara, they would thereby have reduced it to the same miserable condition; but Bologna hath always preserved their Priviledges and the Civil Government, by means of the *Gonsalonniers*, under whom they are governed; they have the right of sending *Embassadors* to the Pope, who enjoy the same Prerogatives as do the *Embassadors* of the other free Princes and States: The Pope cannot confiscate the Goods of any Subjects of Bologna for any Crime whatsoever. The great Mischiefs which too frequently happen here, more than in other parts, are *Assassinations* and *Murthers*; those that commit them fly for shelter to some of the Churches, as to an inviolable *Asylum*, from whence the *Legates* themselves cannot bring them to be punished, or perhaps they retire into the Country, into some Strong hold, or into the Territories of a Neighbouring Prince,

*Prince*, where they are certainly secure, and there remain until the *Legation* of the then *Cardinal* be finished, and afterwards make an agreement with the Successor, who for Money pardons them (having Power so to do) all the Crimes and Murthers they have committed : In other respects the People of *Bologna* are very happy, and live in great plenty, for that the Country is mighty fruitful ; and they pay no Taxes to the *Prince*.

Remarks upon the Country of the Great Duke of  
T U S C A N Y.

There are in this Great *Dukedom* three considerable Cities, *Florence*, *Pisa* and *Sienna*. All those who have read the *History* of *Italy*, do know, that *Pisa* was formerly a very powerful *Commonwealth*, that it flourished in Trade and Commerce, and that there were a great many wealthy Citizens belonging to it ; there needs no other proof of this, than what we read, that upon a certain occasion a hundred of the Citizens equip'd each of them a *Gally* at their own Charges, which they maintained during all the War. The great Actions are well known which they have done in the *Levant* by their Fleets, and how they along time opposed the *Duke* of *Florence*, who at length subdued them by the Assistance of the *Spanish* Arms.



*Pisa* is one of the largest and most beautiful Cities of *Italy*; the Buildings are stately and fine; and so is one of their Churches, which with its Dependencies is one of the finest in all *Italy*. The City is built upon the River of *Arne*, which divides it in the midst; it is navigable for Vessels of a great burthen; and at *Legorne*, which is twelve Miles distance, it falls into the Sea. It is one of the best situated Towns in all *Italy* for Trade, with which it flourished extreamly whilst it was a *Republick*: at present not only the City, but the Country belonging to it, is wholly depopulated. Writers say, that there were formerly above one hundred and fifty Thousand Inhabitants, whereas now there are not twelve thousand. The Grass grows in most of the Places and Streets of the City, and most of the Houses are deserted, and lye void. I was myself in a fair large Pallace, which was let for six Pistoles *per annum*; the greatest part of their Lands lye wast, and the Air is very unhealthy in most parts, because of the small number of Inhabitants. The *Duke of Florence* thought there was no way to secure himself of this great City, but by depopulating of it, and ruining the Trade, which rendred it so potent, so that at present there is not any Trade there at all.

The City of *Sienna* was also formerly a very fine *Commonwealth*, and had in it many noble, rich, and powerful Families; but since that the *Duke of Florence* hath reduced it to his Obedience, he

he hath ruined most of the Nobility and Gentry, many of them retiring into *France*, and into the Territories of some of the *Princes of Italy*.

As to the City of *Florence* it self, it is extreamly decayed to what it was since it came under the Government of the House of *Medici*. It is plain from the History of *Machiavil*, and other *Italian* Authors that lived in those times, that it was three times more populous when it was a *Republick*, than it is now. The *Great Duke* keeping his Court and residence there, one would think should make the *City* flourish the more; yet it wants a great deal of that Luster and Splendor it had when it was a *Commonwealth*.

*Remarks upon the Temporal Government  
of the P. O. P. E.*

**T**HERE are certainly very few People so miserable, as those who live under the Dominion of the *Pope*: most of the *States of Italy*, and where there are the most Subsidies and Impositions, have not put any tax upon *Corn* and *Grain* which make *Bread*, because there is no person, though never so miserable, that can subsist without it; there is that humanity and regard had to the *People*, in not laying *Taxes* upon *Bread*, because 'tis the common Nourishment and absolutely necessary even for the most Indigent and Poor; though Impositions are laid without scruple upon *Wine* and other Merchandises, because

cause they are not so necessary as *Bread*: yet the *Pope* makes no scruple to lay very great Impositions upon *Corn* and *Bread* throughout all his *Dominions*, except in those places that have yet preserved their *Liberties*. It was *Donna Olimpia*, that during the Pontificat of *Innocent* the X. began to put Taxes and Imposts upon *Corn*, and made such *Laws* which have ruined the most part of the great Nobility and Gentry, that live under the *Ecclesiastical Government*, who had their revenues consisting in *Corn*. All the *Popes* who have reigned since *Innocents* time, have found such a great Advantage to themselves by these *Laws* of *Donna Olimpia*, that they have continued them ever since; and it is at present a very Considerable part of the *Ecclesiastical Revenue*. The substance of which said *Law* or Ordinance is this, That no person whatsoever is suffered to sell *Corn* to any *Strangers*; but all those that have any, are obliged to sell it at a price certain to the *Ecclesiastical Chamber*; which is not at the most above one moiety of the real Value; and then the *Ecclesiastical Chamber* sells it again at double the price. In *Italy* there is no person, either in *City* or *Country*, in the *Pops Dominions*, who is permitted to make their own *Bread*, but every one is obliged to buy it of the *Bakers*, who are appointed by the *Chamber*; in each *Village* and *Burrough* there is but one *Baker* Established by the *Chamber* to make and sell *Bread*; the *Baker* is obliged to take the *Corn* of the *Chamber* at a certain

certain price, and to make the *Bread* of such a quantity and weight, and to sell it at a price Certain. In the great Cities, as at *Rome*, there are very many *Bakers*, who are all obliged to buy a certain quantity of *Corn* of the *Ecclesiastical Chamber* for a whole *Year* to come, which they pay for before-hand, and give ten Crowns the *Salme* or measure, when at the same time the *Chamber* bought it of the particular persons for five Crowns; at the beginning of the year, all the *Bakers* are obliged to take the same Quantity of *Corn* for the *Year* ensuing, although sometimes they have a great deal of the last years *Corn* upon their hands, which they must deliver to the *Chamber* for five Crowns the *Salme* or measure, and then the very same *Corn* is sold them again for ten Crowns. I do not believe that there is any Country in the World, that draws more profit from their Subjects for *Corn*, than the *Pope* doth in his *Dominions*, which hath been partly the Cause of the ruin of the *Ecclesiastical Estate*, since the Establishment of the said *Law*, which was about thirty years since: the Country is unpeopled, and great part of the Lands lie void and uncultivated, because it is not worth while to manure them when the greatest advantage and profit, arising thereby, goes to the *Pope*. In travelling through the *Ecclesiastical Territories* in *Romania*, and between *Rome* and *Naples*, there are vast quantities of Land unmanured. A Traveller passing through the Estate of a *Roman Prince*:

Prince, told the Prince upon his return to Naples, *he would if he pleased send him Husbandmen that should manure his Lands*; thinking that it had been for want of Labourers that the Lands lay void and wast. The Prince told him, *that he did not want People to Cultivate his Lands; but because they were obliged to sell all their Corn and Grain to the Chamber at a very Low Price, it would not quit Cost to Manure and Cultivate it.*

*Touching the Reduction of the Interest of money Due by the MONTES at Rome from 4. to 3. per Cent.*

EVERY body almost knows what 'tis which in Italy, and especially at Rome, they call the *Montes*; it is much like the Rents upon the Town-house at Paris. The Popes having occasion of money, borrow great sums of particular Persons at 4. per Cent Interest; This they call at Rome the Establishment of the *Monte*, that is, the Creation of certain Officers, and the assignment of several Rents for the payment of those who have lent Money to the Pope. The present Pope, finding the Chamber engaged to the annual payments of I know not how many Millions of *Roman Crowns* Interest, to those that had lent Money upon the *Monte*, resolved in part to reduce and lessen the great Sum of Money which the Interest amounted to, and having for this

this purpose raised several Millions of *Roman Crowns*, he acquainted those that had money upon the *Monte*, that they should come and receive their principal Money, unless they would take 3. per Cent Interest for the 4. per Cent which they formerly received; whereupon there being really no Trade in all the Ecclesiastical Territories, and the Lands worth nothing, and that the Estates of the Nobility were all sold to a penny, all Persons who had Money upon the *Monte*, not knowing how to Employ it to advantage elsewhere, let it there remain, contenting themselves, with *three per cent* instead of *four per cent*, which they had before. So that by this means every one concerned lost a fourth part of their yearly Income, and the *Chamber* got I know not how many Millions of *Crowns* yearly by this Retrenchment of one per cent.

It is almost incredible the immense Sums the *Pope* hath raised by retrenching of many superfluous Expences, and extinguishing several Offices to which great Salleries were payed by the *Ecclesiastical Chamber*, and by divers other means. Those who are well informed in these matters, do for certain affirm, that all the Subsidies which the *Pope* hath remitted to the *Emperour* and *King of Poland*, to carry on the *War* against the *Turks*, are not the thirtieth part of the Money which he hath Treasured up, although likewise he hath pay'd many Debts of the *Chamber*, which were not chargeable upon the *Monte*.  
I ought



I ought not here to omit relating, that the *Inns*, especially in *Tuscany*, in *Romania*, and between *Rome* and *Naples*, are very sordid and incommodious; one may give a pretty good guess at the prodigious Wealth belonging to the *Clergy* in the *Kingdom* of *Naples* by the great quantity of Plate, Vessels and Statues of Silver in the *Churches*, and by the riches and magnificent Furniture of their Habitations, and Vestments of the *Priests*. One may upon the whole matter make this Important Reflection, That if the *King* of *Spain* doth not think of some expedient, to hinder the *Clergy* from Increasing their *Estates* in *Lands*, which they do daily, they will in a very little time become Masters of the greatest part of the *Kingdom* of *Naples*; for they are already possessed of more than the half of the *Lands* of that *Kingdom*, besides the other vast profits they make continually under pretence of *Service to the Church*, for their *Masses*, *Buildings*, *Burials*, *Marriages*, *Confessions*, and by their *Indulgences*, and the *Legacies* left them by Will.

Though these are remarks made in haste, yet they may be of use to the Author.

I know several very pleasant Stories of the *Jesuits* at *Naples*. The *Prince* of *Salerno* gave them the moiety of a great House which he had at *Naples*, and thereupon an Inscription was engraven in Capital Letters upon the Frontispiece of the House, of the Donation thereof given

given to the *Jesuits* by the said *Prince* ; within these few years the *Jesuits*, have turn'd the *Heirs* of the *Prince of Salerne* out of possession of the other *Moiety* of the said *House*, and have defaced the *Inscription* upon the *House* ; and all this they have done by *Colour of Law* and *Justice*. Upon the first *Establishment* of the *Society of Jesuits*, the *Carthusians* of *Naples*, who are very rich, voluntarily assigned them a yearly *Pension* of several thousand *Ducats* ; but the *Carthusians* perceiving that of late years several of the *Jesuits* were grown mighty rich, resolved to withdraw the said *Pension* ; the *Jesuits* hereupon went to *Law* with them, and obtained *Sentence*, that the said *Pension* should be continued. The *Jesuits* have got a very considerable part of the *Lands* of the *Nobility* in the *Kingdom of Naples*. All the *Religious*, of what *Order* soever they be, who have *Houses* at *Naples*, have the *Privilege* of purchasing all *Houses* that are contiguous to them on the one side or the other to the very end of the *Street*, in order to make their *Houses* entire, and to stand alone like an *Island* ; and for this purpose they have no more to do, than only pay the *Proprietor* for his *House*, not according to the present *Value*, but as it was last sold, perhaps 50, 60, or 100 years ago, and so hath descended from *Father* to *Son* successively to the person then in possession.

Many other very considerable Remarks might be made of the divers Tricks and Methods the *Clergy* of this *Kingdom* make use of to wheedle and trapan the *Laity* out of their *Estates*.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
DIVORCE  
OF  
HENRY VIII.  
AND  
KATHARINE  
OF  
ARRAGON.

*With the Defence of Sanders. The Refutation of the Two first Books of the History of the Reformation of Dr. Burnet. By Joachim le Grand. With Dr. Burnet's Answer and Vindication of himself.*

WE have not as yet seen any more than the first Part of this Work, which was published the Fifth of this Month. I know not whether a Man may judge of the two other Parts by this, which seems at first but an Abridgment of the two first Books of the History

ry of the Reformation by Dr. *Burnet*, though the Author promises to refute them in the two following Volumes.

*First*, It seems that M. *Le Grand* foresaw that Men would have this Idea of his Work, which is the Reason he has put before that History a *Preliminary Discourse* where he endeavours, yet without telling his Design, to divert the Reader from having any such Thoughts. He relates at first a Conference that he had with Dr. *Burnet*, in the King's Library, in the Presence of Mr. *Thevenot*, and Mr. *Auzout*. The Makers of Dialogues frequently introduce two Persons, one of which puts the Question, and the other Answers: One is the Master, and the other is the Scholar: Or at least, they make him more learned that teaches, than he that propounds the Difficulties. But in the Relation of this Conference we find quite the contrary. Mr. *Burnet*, who according to the Authors Character, is a Person of a quick peircing Wit, laborious, indefatigable, and most capable to defend the Reformation; whose Expressions are always free, bold and full of fire, and who speaks upon this Occasion with an Eloquence that charms them that hear him: Yet this Mr. *Burnet* leaves the principal Points undetermined, or else consents and submits every thing that is opposed against him. But M. *Le Grand*, who propounds his Difficulties after a plain, humble Manner, and rather as Doubts, than as real Objections, makes evident, quotes, attacks, and at length

length leaves Mr. Burnet with hardly a Word to say for himself.

There is no Wonder to be made, that so soon, as M. Le Grand began to write, he should so suddenly overturn a Man of that Learning and Reputation as Dr. Burnet. For though *never any Man wrote with more Cunning, or knew better how to link and chain one Event to another; yet, as the Author says, he never studied the History of England.* He that romaged all the most considerable Libraries of the Kingdom, to fetch out Registers and authentick Records and Acts, and Copies of Dispatches, Memoirs and other Manuscripts of those times, out of which to compose his History; who has printed a Volume in Folio of those sort of Pieces, in justification of what he says; he to whom the whole Nation, and the Parliament it self, gave publick Testimonies of the Esteem which they had for his Work. But the reason that M. Le Grand, alledges for his Adversary's Ignorance in the History, is because he does not refute the Errors which M. Varillas has committed in several Things that concern'd England, in his first Book of the History of Heresy; having no other Design than to criticize upon the Ninth, which only relates to the Reformation, as appears by the Title, *A Critick upon the Ninth Book of the History of M. Varillas, where he speaks of the Revolutions, &c.*

Mr. Burnet and Mr. Varillas being such defective Historians in M. Le Grand's Opinion, there is



is no Wonder if he threaten them, *to raise up a Third, that shall make them lose a good Part of the Reputation which they have gotten.* And that which confirms his Hopes is this, because 'tis Plain, *That those Authors are very Negligent, and that their last Works are less valuable than their first.* As for M. *Varillas*, since it could never be believed that a Historian, so partial, could write after a rational manner, I never give my self the Trouble to compare his Works together; and so I cannot say whether his Answer to his Adversaries *Critick*, be better or worse than his Histories. But as for M. *Burnet's Travels into Italy*, I must take the Liberty to inform the Public, that M. *Le Grand*, who cites that Book to confirm what he writes, made his Judgments upon the French Version, though Mr. *Burnet* hath declared, *That he had, but too frequently mistook his Meaning.*

As to the Memoirs which the Author made use of, he says nothing but what he has taken out of the Letters and Dispatches of *Francis I. Henry VIII. the Cardinals, Woolsey and Grandmont*, the Bishop of *Auxerres, Maion, Tarbes, &c.* Where we find that M. *Le Grand* makes two Persons of Cardinal *Grandmont* and the Bishop of *Tarbes*, whereas they were but one and the same. As for the Letters and Dispatches, &c. of *Henry VIII. and Cardinal Woolsey*, a great many of them being in English, as may be seen in Mr. *Burnet's Collection*, perhaps they might be of little Use to our Author; for we are apt to be-

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lieve that he did not understand the Language ; as well for that by the Judgment which he makes of the Travels into *Italy*, as by what Mr. *Burnet* shews in the Letter which follows this Extract, it appears that M. *Le Grand* never cast his Eyes upon that Collection of Pieces which is added to the English Edition of the History of the Reformation of *England*.

Secondly, The Divorce of *Henry VIII.* is too well known to make an Extract of it. We shall therefore make some Remarks, which will absolutely undeceive those who may imagine that M. *Le Grand's* Book is an Abstract of one part of Mr. *Burnet's*. In short, the Method and Design of those Two Books is extremely different, as well as the Memoirs, upon which they are grounded: 1. Mr. *Burnet* has no other Aim in Writing the History of *Henry VIII.* than to represent how the Proceedings of that Prince, whose irregular conduct he does not undertake to justify, levell'd the Way to that Reformation which was made under his Successors: M. *Le Grand* makes *Henry* to be always in the wrong, as if he had never done good. 2. M. *Le Grand* bestows his Encomiums upon those that he thinks deserve them, though never so great Enemies of the Reformation, as *Fisher*, *Moor* and Cardinal *Pool*. He never dissembles the Faults of those that contributed most to the Reformation, as *Cromwel*, *Cranmer*, the Duke of *Somerset*, &c. because he has observed by an infinite Number of Examples out of Sacred

cred and Ecclesiastical History, That God never makes use of perfect Instruments for the Execution of his Designs. M. Le Grand seems to have had very opposite Ends. All those that contributed to advance the Reformation are very ill handled by him in his History; where he gives them the honourable Title of *False Prophets*, particularly to *Ann Bolen*, and *Crammer*, whom he calls the *False Prelate*; and *Cromwell*, whom he abuses, *as a Man as ignorant as ever was in the World*. This Minister, who is never permitted to justify himself, is condemned under pretence of having exceeded his Master's Orders, in granting Passports for the Exportation of Money and Corn. But Heresy was the Capital accusation that was laid to his Charge. Nevertheless the Author assures us, *That the Impeachment against him was grounded particularly, upon several Letters that were found among his Papers, wherein he acknowledged that he held private Correspondences with the Princes of Germany, unknown to the King.*

Now in regard that History is but a Texture of Original Letters, and that every Politician has his particular Remarks upon an Affair which he does not well understand, no wonder that M. Le Grand represents so variously the Designs and Inclinations of those who had the greatest Share in that Negotiation. He says, *That Francis I. was weary at last of the Capriccios of Henry VIII, and consented to the definitive Sentence, which condemned him to retake his Wife under Pain of Excommunication.*

*nication.* Nevertheless he observes, that after that Sentence, *Francis I.* sided with *Henry VIII.* in all his Affairs with all the Zeal imaginable. That *Francis I.* would not bear the Proposal of *Clement VII.* That that Pope had promised before to do for the King of England all that lay in his Power: That the Pope made some Scruple at it, but at length gave him his Promise. But all these new Promises could not make the Holy Father forget those that he had made at the beginning of the Process to the General of the *Cordeliers*, the Emperor's Agent. *Clement* himself acknowledged that he had promised that he would never pronounce Sentence upon the Divorce, and that he would do nothing in that Affair without giving *Charles I.* Notice. If the Church of *Rome*, be so excessively tied to Decisions, the Court of *Rome*, on the other side, is as little tied to Promises. And therefore we must confess that the Complaisance of that Church goes sometimes a very great way. In those Ages, saith our Author, speaking of those that followed the *Tenth*, The Discipline touching Marriages was not so severe as afterwards. Kings put away their Wives upon slight occasions, and never sought for any Pretence. Afterwards they were desirous to have one, and it was as easie to find one; because they could not marry with a Kinswoman on this side the Seventh Degree: So that Princes that could not Allie themselves indifferently with all sorts of Persons finding themselves all united in Blood, and coming to dislike their Match, proved their near Affinity, put away their Wives and  
took

took others. So that there were some Princes who had Two or Three Wives living, and Princesses that had Two or Three Husbands. This was practised in the Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Ages; and in these times of Darkness and Ignorance it was, that these Scholes of Canonists and Scholastick Divines became so numerous.

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*A Letter to Monsieur Thevenot, being a full Refutation of Mr. Le Grand's History of HENRY VIII's Divorcing KATHARINE of Arragon. With a plain Vindication of the same by Dr. G.B.*

PERmit me, Sir, before I pay you all those marks of respect which are your due, to assure you that I am so well perswaded of your Probity and Sincerity, that maugre the difference of perswasion that is between us, nevertheless I dare adventure to submit to your Judgment in the Contest, that seems to be between me and M. Le Grand, in a matter that has no small relation to Religion. Opinions, and the speculative Consequences which Men draw from matters of Fact, appear very much different, according to the different Ideas which men have of the Things: But the matters of Fact themselves have but one Face, and present themselves after the same manner to all that seek the Truth, There-fore

fore in regard that our dispute moves altogether upon matters of Fact, I am apt to believe I can hazard nothing in taking you for my Arbitrator.

During our last Residence at *Paris*, having had the Honour to visit you several times, I had time to observe with how much justice you made your self the subject, and the esteem, and admiration of all the World. I was convinced of it more particularly by the Civilities which you heap'd upon me, and by the pains you took to bring me into a Conference with M. *Le Grand*, in your own and the Presence of M. *Auzout*. I was the less scrupulous when I found my self in a place where I could expect nothing but fair dealing from a person that lived in the House of a Man no less considerable for his extraordinary Vertues, than for the great Employments with which he was entrusted, and who frequently conversed with the Learned M. *Bulteau*, who as often visited the famous M. *Baluze*, whose Sincerity equals his profound Learning, a thing rarely to be found in our Age: And, which was more than all the rest, a Friend of M. *Thevenot's*. This made me look upon M. *Le Grand*, as a person that had all those Noble Qualities that were to be expected from a fair Adversary.

I should give you too great a trouble to recal to your memories all those little Things that were upheld in your Presences, and at which you your selves were so much distasted, that you

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confess'd



confess'd ingeniously how much you *were* ashamed to hear them. You made this acknowledgment not only to me, after M. *Le Grand's* departure, but to several others also ; and you were so well satisfied in this, that though what had been propounded, was not worth the talking of, yet that I had fully answer'd the Discourse, as mean and frivolous as it was. M. *Auzout* desired likewise at the same time, that I would make no noise of it, to which request I was readily induced to condescend: For to say the very truth, I did not find that my Adversary was a subject worthy my Triumph, or the pains of boasting in publick a Victory over him. And therefore as to what I have deem'd requisite to insert of our Discourse, among the Remarks which I have made upon some passages of the History of M. *Varillas*, I have managed M. *Le Grand* with all the Circumspection that he could expect from me. Though, if in the pursuit of this Discourse, I happen to wound him more to the quick, he must thank himself, and not lay the blame on any body else.

I can easily brook all those Reflections which he has made upon my Ignorance, and shallowness of Capacity, more particularly upon what he says, *That I never studied the History or the Laws of England.* For thus he expresses himself after he had bestowed great Praises upon me, and such as I never deserved. Nevertheless, by the suddain change of his Pen, he seems to look upon me as a Person  
of

of little worth. But that same Thick skull'd, and common Artifice of some People to praise those whose Reputation they have a design to destroy will never surprize men of Understanding; nor will hainious and dirty reproaches pass among them under the Covert of a few generous Encomium's. I must be contented with that small measure of Knowledge and Capacity, which come to my just share, especially now that I have to do with a Person of so mean a Talent, as Mr. *Le Grand* appears to be by this same Treatise of his.

I could only wish that they, who would be better inform'd of the truth of that celebrated Passage of the History, which is the Subject of our Dispute would give themselves the trouble to read what *Sanders* and my self have written, and then peruse the History of M. *Le Grand*. I am assur'd they will conclude, That there must be some fault in the Title Page, where he promises the *Defence of Sanders, and the Refutation of the Two first Books of my History*. The whole substance of his Work agrees altogether with mine, unless it be in some parts, where he shews that great Art of his, wherein I yield him willingly to out-do me. In all things else he so perfectly concurs with me, that I am tempted to believe, He only took his Pen in hand, to fulfill those Offers which he made me in your Presence, to furnish me with *Memoirs* sufficient for the Confirmation of what I have wrote

upon this Subject. True it is, I have not read any more as yet than the First Part of his Book; nor can I imagine how he has abandon'd during the whole course of his History of *Anne of Boloigne*, and in all the progresses of the Story that depends upon it, though it be the chief Head of *Sander's* Accusation, and which he presses most vigorously, as being a Nullity in the Title of Queen *Elizabeth*, and consequently an Original pretence for Rebellion. He acknowledges also the *Decretal Bull*, nor does he insist upon the Carriage of *Sr. Thomas Moore*. In a word, if you examine the Fourscore Faults of which I have accus'd *Sanders* in my additions, you will find that *Mr. Le Grand* has confessed above Seventy, and confirms what I have maintained in opposition to him. Which will most evidently appear, if his work shall ever be thought worthy a larger Examination.

I say nothing of his Stile, for that his Readers without much consideration or study will easily find it to be the Stile rather of an Advocate that pleads a Cause, than of a person disinterested, that cordially and barely relates matter of Fact. For to argue with heat and passion, and reproach his Adversaries, are unpardonable faults in an Historian. Besides that, there is something so sacred in the very Ashes of Kings, that they are never to be spok'n of but with great Caution; and if at any time there be an unavoidable occasion to blame some of their Actions, softer Terms

are

are to be made use of, than those of *Lye* and *Imposture*. Add to this, that the principal Point, and upon which the whole Question moves, being, Whether the King's own Cause ought not rather to be judged in *England*, and by his Clergy, than at *Rome*, and in the Consistory; that Man can never be thought to act conformably to the Gallican Church, who takes part with the Pope upon this occasion. It is rather to be wondered at, that at a time when there is so little respect given at *Versailles* to the *Vatican* Thunder, and where the Ancient Custom is renewed of appealing from the Pope to the General Council; I say, it is a wonder, at such a time as this, a Subject of this Nature, - should not be handled with more freedom and sincerity. Perhaps this is one of the little Tricks of those sort of People, which *M. Talon* has more frankly described, than I have a design to do, who make hideous portraictures of the Actions of *Henry VIII.* to observe the glory of those of *Lewis the Great*. And perhaps our Author is neither so great a Politician, nor so well knowing in Affairs, as to have such distant prospects in his Eyes, or else this work being his first Essay, he did not study the Point with that Application which was requisite, believing that trouble to no purpose while he has to do with a Person, *that gives no better* proofs of his Understanding than my self. I shall therefore insist only upon six of his principal Errors, which are nothing to the great number of mistakes

which he has committed, and which I could easily make appear, had I the Liberty to enlarge my self in a writing that must be inserted into the *Universal Library*.

I. He calls in question the Contents of the Decretal Bull, which Cardinal *Compeggio* brought, upon this Ground, That having been only shewn to the King and Cardinal *Woolsey*, no Body can tell what it was; and if it had been a definitive Sentence in that matter, the Legates Commission had been at an end, and the King would have contracted his Second Marriage, as formerly *Lewis* the XII. did, without expecting any other proceedings.

Had Monsieur *Le Grand* given himself the trouble to read that Bull which I have published, he might have spar'd himself so many useless Remarks. The Bull was contriv'd in *England* and sent to *Rome*, where, though some few Alterations were made, it appeared nevertheless by all the Letters, that were written reciprocally from *Rome* and *England*; that the Bull which was given to *Campeggio* was in substance the same. Certain it is, that Bull declared the King's Pretences to be just, gave power to the Legates, to examine the Truth of them, and to pronounce Sentence upon the proofs that should be made before them. For though this Bull implied a definitive Sentence of the Pope, upon a supposition of the Validity of the King's Pretensions; nevertheless, it left many things for the Legates to do. They

were

were to inform themselves, 1. Whether the King had not desired this Marriage himself. 2. Whether it would not occasion a War between *Spain* and *England*, should a Dispensation be granted. 3. Whether this Dispensation had been annull'd by the Protestation which the King made against the Marriage, when he came to be of Age. 4. Whether any of the Princes, in favour of whom the Dispensation was allow'd, were Dead before the Marriage was consummated.

It is apparent that that same Bull for the dissolution of the Marriage between *Henry* and *Catherine*, being only granted upon supposition, that all the matters in Question were as the King maintained them to be, had been void in case he could not have prov'd his suggestions; which is the thing that confounds all the Author's Arguments.

But I must confess that *M. Le Grand* has something of Reason on his side in what he says concerning *Rodolphus*, whom I believed to have been *Camppegio's* Bastard. He proves out of *Sigonius*, who writes the Life of that Cardinal, that *Rodolphus* was his Legitimate Son. *Sigonius* is a very good Author, and I acquiesce in his Authority. But had *M. Le Grand* cast but his Eyes upon the *English* Edition, he would have seen that it was not without sufficient Ground, and not out of any design to blacken the Reputation of *C. Camppegio*, that I call'd *Rodolphus* Bastard; since I quote



the very Discourse wherein he is so called, which was Compos'd by Sr. *William Thomas*, Secretary to the Privy Council, under the Title of *The English Pilgrim*. I had the misfortune not to have seen the Life that was written by *Sigornius*, so that it is only a fault of Omission, which the Author would aggravate into a malicious Invention. And I make this acknowledgment of my Error so much the more frankly, because it is the only mistake among all the rest of which the Author accuses me, that is well grounded.

II. M. *Le Grand* labours to destroy the Authority of the Decision of the *Sorbon* in favour of *Henry*. But in regard this Decision was printed the Year following, and acknowledged for true and real, since no person in those times taxes it of being counterfeited, we have no reason now to suspect it; for neither does *Cardinal Pool*, who was then at *Paris*, when it was made, nor any other writer of the *Roman* Communion, tax the King of Imposture upon that occasion. Add to this that the Bishop of *Tarbes* being continued to solicit in *Henry's* behalf at the Court of *Rome*, after he was made Cardinal, and that the King had publickly acknowledged before the Legates, how privy that Prelate had been to his Scruples conceived upon his Marriage, has given an undeniable Confirmation of this matter, whatever our Author says to the contrary. The same thing is to be said of the *Sorbon*; for that never having been charged with

with falshood in the particular of this Decifion; there is no question but that they made it. So that all M. *Le Grand's* Arguments can never prove any thing more, than only that it has occafioned great Difputes, and that *Beda* was a real promoter of Sedition. By the way, we may obferve that the Ecclefiaftics of *France* were very ill fatisfied with the Conduct of *Francis* the Firft, who had fold their Liberties by the *Concordate*, of which the Univerfity of *Paris* was fo fenfible, and for that reason full of Malecontents. And therefore it might be perhaps that fo many of the *French* Clergy were fo ill affected to *Henry's* Caufe, becaufe they knew that *Francis* the firft fo paffionately fupported his Interests. After all, the Author confeffes, That he found in the scrutiny Fifty three voices for the Divorce, and Forty two againft it; and Five, that were of Opinion that the matter fhould be referr'd to the Pope. And this is fufficient to juftifie the printed Decifion, which only fays, That the greateft number of Doctors were for the Divorce, and declared the Marriage illegal, which may ferve for an Explanation of the words of the Letter of the firft Prefident, *That that fame Declaration would do the King more hurt than it would advance his Affairs*; In regard all the other Univerfities had judg'd in his Favour, whereas the Opinion of the *Sorboun* favour'd him only by the plurality of voices.

III. The Author, who pretends to publish an Extract of the Reasons which the Favourers of *Henry* alledged against his Marriage, has forgot the Principal, and that which supported all the decisions of the Romish Church ; that is to say, *That the Scripture, explained by Tradition, is the Rule according to which all Controversies are to be determined* : They alledged a perpetual succession of Provincial and general Councils of Popes, and the Chief of the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers ; particularly, the Four most famous Fathers of the Western Church, whereas the Imperialists had neither Father nor Doctor on their side. Nevertheless the Author says no more, but that the English quoted the Canons of some Provincial Councils concerning Incontinency ; with certain passages out of *Tertullian*, *St. Basil* and *St. Jerom* about Virginity, and against second Nuptials. I am sure the Reader must here take notice, That there is something wanting in this Relation which is more essential to an honest Man, than a great stock of *Capacity*. For the Canons of Councils and the Passage out of the Fathers which they quoted, speak expressly of the Degrees of Marriage, forbidden in *Leviticus*. He names Three Popes whose Letters they produced ; but he passes over in silence the Chief, in reference to *England*, who was *Gregory the Great*. For the Saxons being converted at what time he held the See, this Pope gave express Order to *Austin* the Monk

Monk to disannul all Marriages that had been contracted with Brothers Wives. Now *England* having submitted to this Law, upon its first embracing Christianity, they who defended the Kings scruples looked upon this as the Principal Foundation of his Cause. So that if M. *Le Grand* would have acquired the Reputation of a sincere Historian, he ought to have mentioned this Particular. Moreover he should not have passed over in silence as he does, all that was alledged against the Power which the Popes assume to themselves of dispensing with all Ecclesiastical, and every the Divine Laws themselves. Nor ought he to have forgot that other great Reason urged by the King, that according to the Canons of the Council of *Nice*, the determination of that matter belonged of right to the *English Church*, and not to the Pope. If the Author be a True Member of the *Gallican Church*, he ought to grant these Maximes; and if he would be thought a Faithful Historian, he ought not to pass them over in silence. But though he do not set down all the Kings Reasons, he adds several New Reasons to the Queens pleading, which her Advocates never dream'd of, and we do not meet with in any Story or Relation of that time. They all tend to prove that the Rules touching the degrees of Consanguinity have not been always observed in Marriages with the same Exactness. But the Church is  
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governed by Rules and not by Examples.

As for the Law of *Duteronomy* which permits a Man to Marry his Sister-in-Law, if her Husband died without Children, it has been always considered in the Christian Church, as an Exception to the General Rule ; so that in regard it was only made in favour of the *Jews*, and with reference to their Right of Succession, it was abolish'd together with their Republick ; whereas the Laws of *Leviticus* concerning this Matter, are to be look'd upon as Laws that are Moral and Universally received. In a word if you will take the pains to compare the Books that have been written upon this Subject, with the Extracts which M. *Le Grand* and my self have given of them, you will presently find that he writes with no Sincerity at all, who descends to a Nicety. For my part I shall not Envy him the High Opinion he has of his, so long as Men will but acknowledge me to have writ sincerely and without the Byass of Interest.

IV. Our Author says that the Parliament abolish'd the Oath which the Bishops swore to the Pope at the time of their Consecration ; and form'd another which they were to swear to the King. But this is not that which he calls understanding to the Bottom, the Laws and History of *England*. For the Truth was this. They read in that Assembly the two oaths which the Bishops took, the one to the Pope, the other to the King ; and

in regard they found them to be Contradictory, as being two oaths of Homage and Fidelity, which could only be sworn to one Sovereign; they abolish'd that which was made to the Pope, and let that stand in it's full vigour which was sworn to the King I have given an undeniable Example of their Oaths sworn to the King by the Bishops in former Ages, which isto be seen in an Act at the head of the Collection of the Pieces that justifie my History. If M. *Le Grand* had only the *French Translation*, where those Pieces are not, he might have consulted the *English* Edition at Mr. *Bultreau's*, where they are all to be seen. He might have there seen in the Act which I cite, *Cardinal Adrian* renounce not only all the Clauses of the Bulls which were contrary to the Kings Prerogative, or the Laws of *England*; but also swear an Oath of Fealty to the King, in the same Terms which our Kings have since continued to receive them from the Bishops. The Oath to the Pope, which is an Innovation not known till before the XII. Age, contains besides, so many large and unlimited Clauses, which neither accord with the Doctrine of the Gallican Church, nor with that submission and duty which Prelates owe their lawful Prince, since it is apparently an Oath of Homage and Fidelity to a Foreign Power.

V. Mr. *Le Grand* labours might and main, to make *Cranmer* to be look'd upon as one of the most wicked men in the world. He accuses me for making him a Gentleman, but I have said nothing



thing of it, though I well knew him to be so; not believing that Quality considerable enough to be mentioned in the Eulogies due to the memory of so great a Personage. He cannot believe, 'That *Cranmer* was in *Germany* when ' *Warham* died, nor that he was named in his ' Absence to be Bishop of *Canterbury*; nor that ' he stay'd Seven weeks after he received the ' News of his Nomination, because he assisted ' at the Marriage of the King with *Anne Bolen*. He cannot allow what I say, ' That this Affair ' went on slowly, since it was but three Months ' between *September* and *January* before this Pre- ' late was known to be exalted at *Rome*. Nor ' will he be perswaded, That the Provincial Synod ' of *Canterbury* pronounced any positive sentence ' upon the Marriage of the King. See here more mistakes than *Varillas* himself could have been guilty of. For in the Criminal Process against *Cranmer* which is Printed, we find that he calls his Judges to witness, with what reluctance he accepted the Primacy of *England*; and that he did not return out of *Germany* till Seven Weeks after the King had signified to him his Intentions. Nor did the Bishops who knew his Judges, and who had been Eye-witnesses of his behaviour at that time, say any thing to it, as not being able to contradict what he said. Twelve Weeks passed from the Twenty third of *August*, that *Warham* died, to the Fourteenth of *November*, that the King was married; so that

that although the Courrier had staid Fifteen days by the way, *Cranmer* might have delay'd his departure for Seven Weeks, and yet have come time enough to be at the Nuptials of the King. But our Author to change Five Months into three excludes *September* and *January* out of his Account, for this only Reason, That he found it requisite to retrench them. As for the Judgment of the Synod of *Canterbury*, the Sentence of Divorce has it in expresse Terms, That the two provincial Synods of *England* had decided the King's Cause.

But *M. Le Grand*, above all things makes it a Crime in *Cranmer*, that he took an Oath of Obedience to the Pope when he was consecrated; and for that he made a Protestation, by which he gave divers Restrictions to the said Oath. But he reports all that he says concerning this Matter, upon the Authority of certain passionate Scriblers, and quite contrary to the Faith of the publick Acts. The Protestation of the Archbishop was read twice before the Altar, while he was consecrating, and it is clear that he had no design to make use of Equivocals, since what he did he did in publick, and for that the Bishops usually made Protestations, by which they renounced all Clauses of their Bulls which were contrary to the Kings Prerogative. It seems the Canonists, accustomed to this doubling Equivocation, had so much Power over *Cranmer* as to encline him to take the Oath, and

and restrain it by a publick Protestation, made at the same time ; so that if he did any thing amiss ; in so doing, it was rather a Defect of Judgment in that Prelate, than any want of Sincerity.

VI. The Author says that the King pardoned *Moore* and *Fisher*, the Business of the *Maid of Kent* ; and though he confesses that the first ridicules her for an *idle silly Nun* in one of his Letters, yet he seems not to have seen a long Letter of *Moore's*, which I published in my justifying Pieces belonging to the Second Volume, where he speaks of the pretended Revelations of that religious Wench ; *as one of the most horrid Impostures that ever were.* As for *Fisher*, whatever the Author says, he was condemned for favouring that Imposture. To this *M. Le Grand* adds, *That the Chancellour having demanded of Fisher and Moore, what they thought of the Statutes made in the last Parliament, they would make no Answer, only they said, That being cut off from civil Society, they minded nothing but their Meditations upon their Saviour's Passion, which Answer cost them their Lives.* Here is a Corruption of History, which I shall not call so bad as it deserves ; which is so much the more odious, for that writing things as they were transacted, and according to publick Acts, he could represent them after a manner so favourable to his own Cause. These two great Men were condemned at first by virtue of a *Premunire*, which is loss of Goods and perpetual Imprisonment, for having refused to take the Oath,

Oath concerning the Succession, by reason of the Kings's Marriage according to an Act of Parliament. After that they were farther prosecuted, because they opposed the King's Supremacy, or his Title of the supreme Head of the English Church. There is one thing too in *Moore's* Process which might be sufficient to make a Man Guilty of High Treason, where he says, *That a Parliament can both make a King and depose a King.*

Now in regard I have confin'd my self within these Six Heads, I shall go no farther; but the abundance of Matter makes me that I have much ado to hold here, I cannot but wonder the Author has forgot so many important Things in his History, and that he could find in the Collection of Letters printed by *Camuzat*, which I never saw, until he did me the Honour to give them unto me. He says nothing of what the Pope promised Cardinal Tournon, *That for Forms Sake he should be obliged to observe some Formalities of Action, to the End he might not shew himself too partial to the King of England, in favour of whom he was resolved to do what lay in his Power, for the Love of you,* said the Prelate, writing to the King of France. And a little after, *I think I am well assured that our Holy Father will comply with you touching the Request which you have made him in Behalf of your said Brother, Henry VIII. In a Letter of the Seventeenth of August 1533. The same Cardinal writes to Francis I. That the greatest Party of the Cardinals, that were of the Imperial Faction,*

*Faction, would have been mad with the Pope, had he not done what he did, in regard there was but little likelihood that the King would submit his Cause, and that the Pope might have some honourable Presence to act for him, he would do it with as good a Will as was possible. And it may be, adds this Minister, when you meet together (he speaks of the Interview that was to be at Marseilles) there will be found out Expedients. It appears also by another Letter, that Francis I. told the English Ambassador, That the Pope himself had confessed that King Henry's Cause was just, and that he wanted nothing but a Procuration. Therefore it was that when the King was cited to appear at Rome in Person, or by a Proctor, he took little Notice of it. That if Carne were sent beyond the Mountains in the Quality of an Excuser, it was seen by those Mixtures that it was not in the Name of the King, but in the Nation's Behalf that he went to make those kind of Excuses.*

*This Refusal of Henry being look'd upon at Rome as an effect of Contempt, which he had of the Holy See, the Pope promised him the Divorce if he would but appear in that City either in Person or by his Proctor, in pursuance of the Assignation which he had caused to be given him, and acknowledge his Authority. Francis the First applauded the King's Conduct in that Affair, and was so far from endeavouring to oppose his Marriage, that he ordered his Ambassador to be God-Father in his Name to the Child*

Child that should be born in case it were a Son. The *French* Embassador at *Rome* about that time wrote also several Letters to his Master's Court, where he observes, *That the Pope was very ready to do what was desired in the King of England's behalf, and more if he durst or could, but that the Emperors People pressed the Affair with so much Importunity, that the half of the time, His Holiness, against God and against Reason, nay, contrary to the Opinion of a good part of the Imperial Cardinals, was constrained above half the time, to act at the pleasure of M. Dosme — We wanted you there to have put a spoke in his Wheel, pursues he, writing to the Cardinal of Grandemont, There is no Man that dares tell him the Truth. And it is as true that this Embassador who was Bishop of Auxerres, said also speaking to the Pope, That he saw him so pressed by the Emperor, his People, and the greatest part of the Cardinals, that he thought he could do no good but only by Dissimulation. But indeed these cunning Politicians understand so well how to change their Stile, according to Occurrences, that there's hardly any trust to be given to their Letters. The same Day that he wrote what we have cited to the Pope's Legate, in another Letter to the Grand Master he observes, that the Pope had told him, that for Four Years the *Business of Henry VIII. had been in his Hands, that there was nothing effected as yet; that if he might do what he would; he would do what he would; and says the Minister,**



Minister, *This he told me in such a manner, that if I am not deceived he thought what he spoke.* All those Letters were dated the 17. of Feb. 1532. But in another of the 13. of Jan. following, he assures that the Pope had told him, *That he was resolved to referr the whole Business to a good Time; and that he clearly understood, what the Pope meant by a good Time.* To which he adds, that if the Matter had been judged according to the Wishes of the Cardinals, and the eager Instances of the Emperor's People, the most ancient and learned had judged for the King of England. But that there were but few of that Company, and the number of the other was so great, that by plurality of voices the *English* would have utterly lost it.

M. *Le Grand* is very nice and tender, when he comes to that Circumstance, that there arriv'd a Courier from *England* to *Rome* a day or two after Sentence was given; and he omits the halt in which it was pronounced, as if he knew nothing of it. Nevertheless we find in these Miscellanies, a Letter from *Pomponio Trivulci*, dated from *Lyons* the 16. of April, where he observes, that M. *de Paris* passing that way upon his return from *Rome*, told him that the definitive Sentence which the Pope had given against the King of *England*, had been precipitated. That it was not the Pope's fault that they did not temporize longer; that if they had staid but Six Days more before they had pro-

pronounced it, the King would have submitted to the Holy See. But that the Inportunty of the Imperialists and the Consistory was so great, that they would not stay. That the next Day after the Resolution of England came too late, but that then the Consistory and the Imperialists were mad, that they said no longer. All these passages plainly shew, that the Court of Rome was governed in this Affair, only by the prospects and maxims of Policy. And therefore it is, that according to the Principles of the Gallican Church, M. Talon has maintained with so much Zeal, upon an occasion of much less importance, that the King of England had no reason to have any regard to the Sentences and Thundrings of that Court.

If I am extremely obliged to M. Le Grand for having made me a present of so good a Book, in which he furnish'd me with so many proofs of the most important Points of my History, I am no less troubled that he had so little value for himself, as to suppress them, and for his having forced me, as I may so say, to make use of the kindness he has done me to his own disadvantage. But upon such occasions as these, the saying is, *Magis amica veritas*. And though M. Le Grand imagines that I am jealous of my Productions, were not the Interests of Religion intermixed therewith, I could easily abandon mine. But I will not now push this censure any farther; neither do I know whether I shall write any more upon this Subject, not being able to determine

detrmine any thing in that matter, till I have seen the Three other parts of this work, and the effects it will produce in the World. I shall conclude with humble request to pardon the Liberty which I take of addressing this Letter to you, and that in so public a manner, not believing a man could otherwise so properly give a censure upon a printed Book.

*I am, Sir, &c.*

*Hague, 20. of June.*

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**ANIMAD-**

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ANIMADVERSIONS  
ON THE  
REFLECTIONS  
UPON  
Dr. B's TRAVELS.

**W**HEN we were made believe that *Reflections* upon Dr. B's *Travels* would quickly appear, somewhat that was considerable was both promised and expected, and even Dr. B's friends apprehended that in such a number of particulars, with which he had filled his Letters, some few might have been found that had been ill warranted: For no body could have imagined, that a Book which had been so much read, and so well received, should have been reflected on with so much malice, and with so little judgment, that after a Preface full of dull spite, there should not have been one single Article among Fourscore and Two that are pickt out, that should in the least shake the Credit, in which the Book and its Author are held.

Some have fancied that either Dr. B. or the Printers of his Book, have hired the *Reflector* to this performance, for raising the Credit of those Letters of Travels, and for giving them the advantage of selling another Edition of them: Sure such Reflections cannot possibly have any other effect. If we had a party of men of our side, that had learned to put in practise the Modesty and other Morals of the Jesuits, one should have imagined that this Book might have been such an Imposture as was discovered about thirty years ago, among the *Jesuits* at *Paris*, who hearing of a severe book that was coming out against them from the Cabal of the *Jansenists*, imployed one of their own *Fashers* to writ a book, which as it had the same Title, so seemed to pursue the same design; but was writ in so poor and contemptible a manner, that it could have no effect, but to render the party from which it was believed to come, ridiculous: and the Press wrought so hard, that this *mock-book* prevented the true one; so that upon its appearance, and its passing for that which was expected, the party was much deceived, till a little time laid open the Imposture; which had covered the Society with a just confusion, if their being accustomed to such practices had not rendered them insensible of the shame that the discovery brought upon them. So upon this occasion I staid a while to see if there might not be some foul play here, though our side has no reason to be so much as suspected of such Leger-

*demain.*

demean. I confess I do not know what judgment to make of the Author, or his Translator: for as report, and the Title Page, call him a Foreigner; so the gross Errors, and the coarseness of the Style are capable of no excuse but that of a Translator's being tied to his Author, though a liberty of changing such Phrases as, *that his breath should fail*, and the *most polite Nation of the English*, is practised by all that have a right notion of giving a true Translation. I do not know which is the *most polite Nation of the English*: I hope he does not mean the *Irish*; and I am sure whatever that Nation is, he is not of it: His *Helvetia*, *Sorbierius*, and *Amelottius Houffarus*, shew that the Translator knows not how these Names ought to be writ in *English*. There are some very few touches that look like *Wit*, and that by consequence are so little of a thread with the whole, that I am apt to believe these have been drop't in by a once famous Poet, who, as is said, review'd it: and perhaps he had some Remnants in his Common-place-book of *Wit*, that were not yet employed by him; so as he found that this book wanted garnishing extreamly, he was so bountiful as to afford some; but that was done so sparingly, as not to exhaust his own stock, which is now low. Our Reflector shews his good taste of *Wit*, by giving us that gross Clinch of *Asinius* set against *Patavinus* as due to *Asinius Pollio*, for reproaching *Livy* with the other: and this he seems to think a flower. His

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accusing of *Phararch* of *dullness*, and want of *Spirit*, shews, that his taste is as correct concerning the Authors whom he despises, as concerning those whom he esteems: and Dr. B. has no reason to be troubled to see himself attack't by a man that had the confidence to disparage the greatest of all the Ancient Authors, in whose simplicity and seeming carelessness, there is a beauty that far exceeds all the painting of a laboured Stile. The other parts of the Preface shew how little he either understands books or men: But as he seems not capable of correction, so he is too Inconsiderable to need that a Warning should be given to the World for preventing the mischief that his Pen may do it. This Essay is enough.

He warns us of his *Choler* against Dr. Burnet, and thinks that he has used him *severely, which injury, he says, ought to be redressed*: But, I dare say, he cannot raise any *choler* in the Doctor, or make him complain, either of the *injuries* he does him, or of his *severe usage* of him: Such a Writer as he is, can do *injuries* to none but himself. He makes a fair parallel between *Learning* and *Vertue*; and to shew us how well he knows the History of the last Age, he gives us the Constable *Memorancy* for a pattern of great *Vertue*. In conclusion, he fancies Dr. Burnet is little concerned in the esteem that the World may have of his *Vertue*, so long as he maintains the Character of a *Learned Man*; but I do not know in which of the Doctor's Actions or Writings he has discovered this: to be sure  
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our *Reflector* has found nothing like it in these Letters of his Travels: for though he pretends to say somewhat on those points which relate to Learning, yet he has not mentioned any one thing that can in any manner lessen the opinion that any may have of the Doctor's *Virtue*: So that all this discourse is, besides the malice of it, absolutely impertinent.

He reckons up some who have writ of the Commonwealth of *Venice*, among whom he names *Ame-  
lorius Houffarus*, as the last, which shews how little he knows the Books, writ concerning that State, since Mr. *St. Didier*, a man of another sort of force, as well as of greater probity, who was Secretary to the Count of *Avaux* while he was Ambassador at *Venice*, has given an account of that Commonwealth, that is both more faithful and more exact than the other. I do not love to tell personal things that may be to a third Man's prejudice; but since the *Reflector* opposes his *Houffarus* to Dr. *Burnet*. I must tell him, that *de la Houffarie* is too well known in *France* to build much on his Credit: the accidents of his Life have been too publick, and his Attempt on the Memory of Mr. *Ablancourt*, has been turned upon him in so vigorous and so severe a manner, that few things will pass upon his Authority. *Reflector's* calling an *Extract* drawn from a *Record*, the *Fable of the Monks of Bern*, is a beauty of Stile peculiar to him: If he had proved, that Dr. *Burnet* had falsified the *Record*, he might justly have called it

a *Fable*, and have also bestowed on the Doctor all the good words that he could invent. His Raillery concerning the Women is too coarse to deserve an answer. He censures the Dr. for setting *Francis* the 1<sup>st</sup> before *Charles* the 5<sup>th</sup>: This he thought so remarkable an Error, that not contented with the Reflection that he bestows on it, he sets it in the Preface, as one of his most Conspicuous Faults; though if such an Error had been committed in a Letter, which does not require an exactness of Stile, it had been no great matter: But Dr. B. was speaking of the Wars of *Millan*; so to observe the Order of the History, he ought to have mentioned *Francis* the 1<sup>st</sup> in the first place, because he had conquered *Millan*, and was in possession of it for some years before either *Charles* the 5<sup>th</sup> was chosen *Emperor*, or before he began to meddle in the matters of that Dutchy: So all his discourse of the Precedence due to the Emperor, is meer fooling here, where the Order of Time was only considered, without any regard to the Dignity of the Persons: And the Order in which the Doctor put the Three Religions that had their Exercises in the Church of the *Concord* at *Manheim*, had no relation to their Dignity or Precedence, but meerly to the Order of Time, the *Calvinists* having their Exercise first, the *Lutherans* next, and the *Papists* last.

The Reflector studies to infer from Dr. B's Promise, to write an account of those things  
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that he saw, which pleas'd him most : That therefore the *Misery* which he observed in *France*, and with which he begins his Letters, was a thing that *pleased him mightily*. But the Dr. might be pleas'd with the Observation that he made, without delighting in the *Misery which he saw* : For to a man that loves a Legal Government, and a Religion free of Superstition, it is no small pleasure to be confirm'd in that, by the Observation of the Effects that these things have upon Civil Society ; which are never so sensibly felt, as when one sees the Effects that flow from a contrary Constitution of Government and Religion : so the Doctor might have had all the tenderneſs with which such objects ought to have moved him, and yet be pleas'd to think of the happiness of other Nations and Churches. I dare say the Doctor is very *well pleas'd* to find such a book writ against him, without being pleas'd with the Impertinences that are in it ; so he might find a real pleasure in observing the difference between *England* and *France*, and yet have all the Compassions that became him for the Oppressions under which the *French* groan.

He finds matter of Censure in the Doctor's making a difference between the *Public Justice* of *Geneva*, and the *Private* ; for that which he says relating to their *Arsenal*, is too much honoured by being mentioned, it being so excessively impertinent. The *Public Justice* is fully explained by the Doctor, by which he means the *Justice of*

*the Government, and the Court of Judicature, which may be highly commendable in a State, in which there may be too great a mixture of double dealing in private Transactions ; and an Author that fancies there is a Contradiction in saying, that the Switzers are heavy witted, and yet conduct their matters with much dexterity and address, has, it seems, studied Logick to good purpose, Wisflowing from a lively imagination, and Dexterity from a solidity of judgment: Those that have a small share of the one, may by that very defect be so much the more eminent in the other. And it seems the Reflector's knowledge of Manuscripts, is of a piece with his other Qualities, since he quarrels with Dr. B. for saying, that the Manuscripts in St. Mark's Library are Modern, and not above Five Hundred Years old. Those Manuscripts are the Works of the Old Greek Philosophers, and the Fathers ; and nothing but an Ignorance equal to his, could except to the calling the Manuscripts of those Writers Modern, since they are not above Five Hundred Years old. But it seems he is so ignorant as to think they lived but Five Hundred Years ago ; and upon that supposition the Manuscripts cannot be Modern, if they are as Ancient as the Authors themselves are.*

There is but one part of this Preface in which I am of the Reflector's mind, which is, that he confesses *he expects no praise from the Work:*

Work: and in that I dare answer for it, his hopes will not fail him. He adds, that there is *no need of Ingenuity in it*; and indeed he has writ like one that thought the smallest measure of it would have quite spoiled his performance: Therefore he has put in none of that mixture which would have been very foreign to his design. But if what he adds is true, *that a man of a mean capacity was proper for it*, then his, which is of the *lowest Form*, will scarce be allowed to rise up to the size of a *mean capacity*. He avoids the saying any thing of *Switzerland*, though if he had found matter for Reflections, he who to the reproach of his Country, is said to be a *Switzer* born, should have insisted most upon matters that he may be supposed to know. But to supply that defect, he pretends that he is informed by a friend, that a Learned man of *Zurich* is about a Work to *expose the Insipid Errors of the Doctor*. This would make one think that he is a Protestant, though his Reflections shew the contrary. If he has had any correspondence at *Zurich* hitherto, he must expect that will soon fail him, that *Canton* being too severe to the Principles of their Religion, to endure such a rotten member long; and from what *Canton* soever the Doctor may apprehend some severity, certainly it cannot be from *Zurich*, of whom he has given so just and so high a Character, that he can look for no sharpness from any of that Body.



So far I have gone over our Reflector's Preface, and have found faults enough in my way, for so short a discourse: But I go next to the Book it self. I am indeed ashamed to write against such an Author; and if it were not that I intended to discover by a fresh Instance, the Spirit of Impudence and Imposture that appears even in the most Inconsiderable things that pass through the hands of a certain sort of men, I would not have put Pen to Paper. For as I do not find that Dr. B's Reputation is concerned in any thing that is contained in these Reflections; so if it were, these Gentlemen know sufficiently well, that he is of Age, and can answer for himself.

I cannot easily imagine why the Reflector has set down the Abstract, which the Learned men of *Leipsic* gave of the Doctor's Travels, unless it was to let the World see how many matters were treated of in his Letters, to which the Reflector has not a word to say: for he touches on a very small number of those which are mentioned in those Contents which he produces. The only reason I can imagine, is, because it is an easier thing for the Reflector to Copy than to Compose: so he found a shift to swell his Book Nine and Twenty Pages more by that means, which in a Book of One Hundred and Sixty Four Pages was no small Article. It was fit to make a show with a Book of some bigness, since bulk makes an impression on some People.

People: yet these Gentlemen might have known by this time, that how *Implicite* soever the multitude may be on their side, yet on our side the World is not so tame, but that People will both read and consider, before they can be brought to believe, especially a set of men who have entertained them with Imposture upon Imposture for some Years past. I confess, I believe few will be carried so far on this occasion, as to read and consider these Reflections, since the things appear so trivial at first view: and with relation to the Doctor's Travels, it is of no small credit to them, that he having adventured to publish so particular an account of many things so soon after he had seen them, there has not been the least attempt made to discover the falshood of any one thing in that Book. It was too much read in *England*, for them to pretend that they despised it: For though our Reflector says, that presently upon its appearing in *England*, it was *suppressed*, we all know the contrary; and that no Book of that Nature has had in our time so great and so quick a Sale as it had. The chief matters in it were of that Nature, that if the Doctor had abused the World, it had been easie to have discovered it in an authentical manner. It is known, that his Book has been seen in the chief Cities of *Italy* now above a Twelve-month; and the Persons concerned, have had it in their power to undeceive the World. It is also no Secret, that any discovery that had been

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much to the Doctor's prejudice, would have been made a matter of no small merit; and the things that he has told us of those parts, were too sensible, and have made too great an impression on the Nation, to have been let alone so long, if the clear Evidence of Truth had not maintained the Book hitherto. But one would be tempted to think, that the *Reflector* thought it was necessary to give it a new lustre, by making so feeble and so unsuccessful an attempt upon it. It has gained Credit enough already, and wanted not this addition; but some Men seem to lie under a Curse, and in every thing that they undertake to work counter to the true Interest of their Cause; which if it is bad of it self, it is certainly in as bad hands; and is managed as if its Enemies gave secret directions for every step that is made in it.

1. Art. Dr. B. had given an account of that famous Silver Shield at *Lions*, of Two and Twenty Pounds weight, that seemed to represent that famous Action of *Scipio*, in restoring a fair Captive to a *Celtiberian* Prince. Upon this our Author bestows Three Reflections: *First*, He says, Mr. *Spon*, who has writ a Discourse concerning that piece of Plate, calls it but One and Twenty Pounds. *Secondly*, The Doctor ought to have called it not simply a *Shield*, hut a *Motive Shield*, since otherwise a Reader has a great reason to doubt of it: for no man can use a Shield of that weight, for the defence of his Body.

And

And to beautify this Reflection, he cites some Authorities of the Ancients, to prove that they had such *Votive Shields*; and because a Print makes a deep Impression on weak People, he give us one. Now, the Reader must know that he cites not these from his own reading, but though in other places he dares not tell us out of what Modern Author, he drew his Quotations, yet here he is so honest as to tell us, that he gives us his Authorities from Mr. *Spon* and Mr. *Saumaïse*. Thirdly, He excepts to Dr. *Burnet's* saying, that the *bas reliefs* of this Shield, seem'd to represent *Scipio's* generous Action, as if in this the Doctor claimed the Honour of this Conjecture; and because the word *seems* was doubting, our Author gives us one Citation out of *Livy*, three Pages long, containing an Account of *Scipio's* Action, and another of Mr. *Spon's*, and to all he gives us a Print of the Shield, and so here ends his first Reflection.

But if the Doctor writ down in his Table-book Two and Twenty for One and Twenty, here is no designed Error at least; and I have been told by those who have seen the great Print of that Shield, made by Mr. *Mey*, its owner, that it calls it at the bottom Two and Twenty Pounds weight.

2. The Doctor choosing to write True *English*, he could not call it a *Votive Shield*, because *Votive* is not *English*. All Readers, except such as our Reflector, must know, that it was <sup>not</sup> a Shield intended for a Memorial in some Temple, and  
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could not be intended for Defence. And it is plain that Dr. *Burnet* knew that Mr. *Spon* had writ so learnedly of it, that he thought fit only to name it, and so he did not stay to explain it; for he does not seem to be so much in love with Copying as the Reflector is. 3. The Account that the Doctor gives of that which is represented in it, plainly shews, that he rather goes in to the Opinion of others, than that he pretends to give one of his own: And if our Reflector is angry at the Doctor's reservedness, in not being positive, but saying only, it *seems*; he ought to know, that though such Men as he is, are apt to determine very readily, yet Men of more Learning and Judgment bring themselves to an habit of speaking of most matters with a due reserve in their Expressions. I acknowledge that Conjecture which Mr. *Spon* gives, *seems* so well grounded, that few things of that Nature are better. But since History is so defective, who knows but some other *Roman* General might in imitation of *Scipio*, have done somewhat like that in *Gaul*, the Memory of which is preserved in this Shield; and this might have fallen out in *Provence*, and so the Shield might have been found at *Avignon*? I do not say that this is true, but to be sure it is possible; and therefore since there is no Inscription to be seen on the Plate, it cannot be denied but that the Doctor writ with due caution, when he said, that it *seemed to represent that Action*. So if our Author is not more  
successful

successful in his following Reflections than in this First, on which he bestows Ten Pages, I do not see that the Reputation of the Doctor's Learning or Vertue is like to suffer much by the attempt he has made upon it.

He reflects on the Doctor for saying, that this Shield is *Invaluable*; and yet for adding, that if there were an Inscription upon it, to put us beyond doubt, or conjecture, it were yet more *Inestimable*, as if here were an accumulation of Infinites, *Invaluable*, and yet more *Inestimable*.

But the most that this can amount to, is a carelessness of Stile, which in an Epistolar work is thought to have a peculiar Grace; and if the Reflector understood the prices at which things of that nature go, he would know that the general Phrase concerning them, is, that they are *Invaluable*; For they having little of Intrinsic value, the price is set on them rather according to the Wealth and the Curiosity of the buyer, than by any certain Standard; so though the Value of this piece of Plate is such, that one does not know to what price it ought to be raised, yet after all, an Inscription would still carry this indeterminate Notion of its vast value much higher.

The Doctor gives us a Conjecture upon an odd Expression in an Inscription at *Lions*, with the modesty

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that became him in so doubtful a thing; and in this the Reflector may differ from him as much as he thinks fit; but to be sure his Exposition is the most ridiculous thing that is possible: *Quæ cum Nimia, pia fuit: facta est Impia*; who while she was great (not to dispute with him about *Nimia*) was pious, she became Impious. There is nothing here to knit the one to the other, or to imply, in opposition to (*Nimia*) her Riches, that made her Pious, what it was that made Impious. But here our Author produces many Capitals, and some Inscriptions: This he thought was great, and might look like a Man of Learning to those who do not know how easily these things are pickt up from second hand. Yet our Reflector is willing to make a Christian of the Man, founded upon this Reason, because the Inscription ends *Et sibi vivo ponendum curavit*. This, according to what is common in many Inscriptions, is to be translated thus, and he ordered this (Tombstone) to be placed for himself during his Life-time. But our Author puts a weighty Scruple here: He cannot think that he was to have gone in alive to the Tomb; and that it was some Vault, to which he intended to retire as to a *Catacomb*. I do not envy our Author the Glory of this Learned Conjecture: But he forgets that this was dedicated, *D. M.* that is, *Dis Manibus*. Now, though perhaps a sort of Christians of later date, would make no scruple to use Dedications of this Nature, yet that did not agree with the strictness of

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of the Primitive Christians. As for his denying that the Inscription is *vivo*, and pretends, from Gruter, to say it is *vivus*, and from his own happy Invention, that it must be *vivas*; in this case I take leave to believe the Doctor, who saw it, and says, he copied it, better than Gruter, who saw it not, but had it sent him from another; or our Author, whose fruitful Imagination is not yet of Credit enough with me to ballance an Eye-witness.

The Doctor gave us a correction of a Passage in *Vegelius*, which does 4 Art. not please our *Reflector*, who assures us, that the Reading that the Doctor explodes, instead of being common, was only in that Edition of *Paris*, when a certain Author writ, that was made in the year 1511. at which time I believe there were very few different Editions of that Author; but, though I do not love to reckon up Editions, yet all the Modern ones that I have seen, are according to that which is censured by the Doctor; so it seems the *Paris* Edition, though it was at first singular, yet has carried it since in all the succeeding Editions. But the *Reflector* seems to have some advantage, since the common *Cubits*, according to *Vitruvius's* measure, are only a Foot and an half, and therefore the reading of Three Cubits must be false, since the next Line says, that the Soldiers height was to be of Six Foot, or very near it, and by consequence, they could not be of Three Cubits height,

height, which is but Four Foot and an half. I perceive our Author has, at least, read Dictionaries, if he has not read good Authors; and in particular, that most Learned and Ingenious Discourse of Dr. Cumberland's, concerning the Ancient measures. Now if he had examined the different sorts of Cubits, either in that Noble Essay, or in other good Authors; or if he had sought for it in *Greek* or *Latin* Dictionaries, he would have found, that as the common Cubit was indeed only a Foot and an half, so there was another Cubit that was Two Foot: and thus this Reflection sinks to the Ground, and here the *Reflector's* Learning ends; For though a variety of Books could furnish him a few Quotations, yet where a little Judgment was to come in, and furnish him with matter, he runs so low, that my Corrections hereafter will be much shorter.

The Doctor had said, that the  
 3 Art. p. 33. *Bailiages* of *Bern* were courted, perhaps, with as much *Intrigue* as was ever used among the *Romans* in the distribution of their Provinces; upon which the Reflection made, is, that the *Romans* spared no wicked Plots, and other Practices, for obtaining their Provinces; therefore he thinks it is extream ridiculous to compare the Practices in *Bern* to these. But if the Doctor had said, That the Citizens of *Bern* had used as much *Intrigue* and *Violence* as the *Romans* did, the Reflection had been just: but now there is no room for it, since the Doctor  
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speaks only of *Intrigue*, which signifies only refined practices, and the arts of management, which may appear as remarkable in small as in great matters.

Dr. B. had said, That some new Fishes appearing of late in 6. Art. p. 37. the Lake of *Geneva*, was imputed to divers Reasons, which he names: But the *Reflector* tells us, That the Rusticks, which dwell near the Lake, are at a certain time of the year obliged to sling in certain Vessels full of sundry sorts of Fishes. Here indeed the Doctor appears extreamly to blame that he did not keep more Company with the Boors; and one would judge by our Author's breeding, and way of writing, that he had spent much of his time among them. But after all, unless these Boors are obliged to go to the neighbouring Lakes, and to bring Fish from them, it does not appear how the Fish of Lakes, at a considerable distance, should be brought into the Lake of *Geneva*.

Dr. B. had corrected a Vulgar Mistake, that represents the *Rhofne*, 7. Art p. 38. as running through the Lake unmixt, at which the *Reflector* is very angry; and to confute the Doctor, he cites a long passage out of Mr. *Spon*, which says indeed, That at the entry of the *Rhofne* into the Lake, and at its issue out of it, the course of the *Rhofne* appears clearly; yet he plainly confirms what the Doctor said, which is, that through almost  
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the whole length of the Lake one cannot distinguish the *Rhofne* from the Lake, neither by its Motion nor its Colour, which is the very thing that the Doctor said, That it did not run *through* it *unmixed*, as some Travellers had fondly imagined; For *through* it imports from the one end of it to the other.

The Doctor had commended  
8 Art. p.42. the real Charity of those in *Zurich*, who took care of their Poor, without building Magnificent Palaces for them, which he represents as a Vanity that is too generally affected elsewhere. And here the *Reflector* flies out into great anger, and thinks that no good man can pardon such Malignity. Here is a common place on which he thought to shew his force; and I dare say the poor man has done his best; and so I leave him. But as I had enough to do to read what he writ on this Head, so I can assure him I will not venture on answering such stuff.

Dr. B. gave us an account of  
9 Art. p.43. some Letters he saw at *Zurich*, from *England*, concerning the Disputes in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, relating to the Habits of the Clergy, in which it is said, by some of the Bishops, that *Cranmer* and *Ridley* intended to procure an Act for abolishing the Habits; on which our Author bestows this Judicious Reflection, That *Cranmer* died before Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown;

as if those Letters that were writ Ten years after his death, might not have mentioned an Intention which he had, though he died before he could excute it.

Our Author finds fault with the Doctor's saying, That the Observation which he made on the various readings of that Verse in St. *John's* Epistle, may seem too Learned, as if this were his setting an high value on his own Learning. Yet since Books of Travels are writ for all sorts of Readers, it seemed necessary to make some excuse for setting down some Observations that belonged more properly to a Treatise of Divinity. But the malice of our *Reflector* is too heavy, and his Railery is too dull to stand on either of them.

Our Author has a long Discourse concerning that Passage, the meaning of which I do not understand. 12.Art.p.45.

It is certain from St. *Jerome's* Preface, that he restored it, having found it struck out in the Copies that the *Arrians* had vitiated; and therefore those *Bibles* which have his Prefaces, but have not that passage, must owe that defect only to the negligence of the Copiers, since, if they copied his *Bible* truly, they must have copied that passage, which, according to that Preface was certainly in it. All our Author's Reflection seems to amount to this, That St. *Jerome* was exact, that so he might discover the Cheat of the *Arrians*, but not that he had actually done it: and so he seems to conclude that the pas-



passage was not in his *Bible*. This is stuff worthy of our Author, and I leave him the honour of it.

The Doctor had said, *Thus will*  
 12. Art. p. 49. *I finish my Account of Zurich*; and  
 three or four lines after that, he  
 ends his Letter in these words, *And so*  
*I will break off*. Here comes an heavy  
 Reflection on the Doctor's pride and haughtiness,  
 and his maintaining of falsities; and that he  
 neither believes nor desires that any other should  
 credit what he says, unless he twice repeat it. But  
 if one asks, why so much wrath? It amounts all  
 to this, that the Doctor first says, he will *finish*  
*his Account of Zurich*, and then, that he will put  
 an *end to his Letter*. And this to him seemed so  
 nauseous a Repetition, that it stirred up all this  
 Choler in him. Certainly he is the tenderest  
 stomached person that ever was. But I leave him  
 to the Physitians; for such stuff as this shews  
 how much he needs their help.

The Doctor dated his Letter  
 13 Art. p. 50. from *Zurich*, as he did the others  
 from *Millan*, *Florence*, *Rome* and  
*Nimeguen*, at which our Author is extream un-  
 easie: For if you but tread hard near a sick  
 man, you discompose him quite. He finds some  
 passages in some of the Letters, that shew, that  
 the Doctor had seen the places which are menti-  
 oned in his following Letters, when he wrote  
 the former. And indeed if the Doctor had cast  
 his

his Observations into so many Letters, and had made the Dates only at pleasure, I do not see any great mischief in it. He might also have writ the Letters in those places from which he dates them, and yet have added passages that belonged to the things which occurred to him, in other places, and I see no great hurt in all this.

The Doctor had mentioned the *Switzers* throwing off the *Austrian* 14. Art. p. 52. and *German* Yoke; upon which our *Reflector* triumphs, as if the Doctor had represented the *Switzers* as oppressed at the same time by Two Nations. But though the Archdukes of *Austria* were their Immediate Lords, yet they were likewise Members of the *German* Empire; and the *Switzers* having not only shaken off the Tyranny of the *Austrians*, but having likewise separated themselves from the *German* Empire, and formed themselves into a Free and Independent Commonwealth, the Doctor had not fully expressed that matter, if he had not made mention of the *German* Yoke, as well as of the *Austrian*.

And thus I have examined all that is Reflected on in the Doctor's first Letter, and have found, that as every one of the Particulars is ill-grounded, so if every one of them were acknowledged to be well-grounded, there is not one of them all that leaves the least Reflection on the Doctor's Vertue and Sincerity; the uttermost to which

which they can amount being to discover some neglect in the Doctor's way of expressing himself. But even in that I have made it clear, that the Doctor writ with more exactness than at first view, perhaps, every Reader might imagine.

Dr. B. had said, that the Remnants of St. Emerita's Veil, which were shewed him at Coire, that are pretended to have been saved out of the Fire, looked as if the burning had not been a Month old; at which the *Reflector* laughs, as very ridiculous, since by this the Doctor seems to judge of Ashes, how long ago they were burnt: but the Doctor only speaks of the pieces of Linnen: And certainly it is no hard thing, by looking on a piece of Linnen-cloth, that is burnt all about the edges, to judge whether it seems fresh and lately burnt, or not. He concludes this Article, after some coarse Raillery, that he fears that it will be said, both of him and the Doctor, That *too much Learning had made them both mad*, I dare say every body will be of opinion, that he is not far from being *mad*. But unless he gives other Proofs than appear in this Book, I am very confident no Body will ascribe the cause of it to too much Learning.

The Doctor had mentioned 16. Art. p. 59. the Archdukes of *Inchspruck*, upon which the *Reflector* runs divisions, according to his Talent of Raillery, as if there were

were no such Archduke. One should have expected, that if the Reflector knew any thing, it should have appeared in matters that relate to *Germany*, where the Branches of the Great Families, though their Dignity is really no other than that of the Great Family from which they are derived, yet they carry their Title in common compellation from the Principality which falls to their share: So all the Branches of the Family *Palatine*, are known by the Titles of *Zweyburg*, *Simmeren*, *Vilden*, &c. So the Dukes of *Luxembourg* are distinguished by the Titles of *Cell* and *Hanover*: So the present regnant Family of *Austria* was distinguished Sixty years ago by that of the Archduke of *Gratz* and *Leopold*: This Emperor's Uncle was known by the distinction of the Archduke of *Inchspruck*, though the dignity in it self was that of *Austria*, with the distinction of *Inchspruck*.

The Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Articles, are such strains that I will not meddle with them. He who thinks it worth his while, to see to what a degree the stupidity of the Author can carry him, may consult the Reflections themselves, and he will soon see, that what reason soever there may be to conclude the Reflector mad, there is no reason to think that it flows from too much Learning.

Our Author cannot comprehend why the *French* concerned themselves with the passes of the

20. Art. p. 62.

*Alps*;

*Alps*; and he thinks, that, though the *Venetians* were concerned in it, yet the *French* had nothing to do with it. But if he does not know, that the *French* did interpose in that matter, he is as Ignorant of the History of this Age, as he is of all other things: and if he does not apprehend how they were concerned in that matter, it is not to be wondered at, if a man of his size of Capacity should not understand how the *Maxims* of holding the ballance, of weakening an Enemy, and of a Superior Power's being always ready to run to the aid of an Inferior, should have governed the Councils of *France*. Certainly a man that cannot comprehend this, should meddle with somewhat else than Politics.

The rest of the Reflections, on to the Thirtieth, which comprehend all the Doctor's Second Letter, are strains so worthy of their Author, that it were too great an abuse of the Reader's patience to examine them.

The Doctor tells us, that the 31. Art. p. 80. *Venetians* are willing to keep up the quarrels among the Nobility of the Conquered Cities; and in opposition to this, our Author very judiciously cites *la Houssarie*, to prove that the *Venetians* study to keep down all Factions among their own Nobility; as if the Nobles of *Venice*, and the Nobles of the Conquered Cities, were the same.

The Two and Thirtieth and Three and Thirtieth Articles are left to the Reader.

The

The Doctor had said, That the *Arsenal* of *Venice*, was the only 34. Art. p. 84. one that they had: whereas the *Reflector* says, they have Two others in the City it self; but he is only at the pains to name that of *St. Mark's* Palace, which is indeed called the *Little Arsenal*, and is only a Repository of some few Arms, that is of no considerable moment; but since the *Reflector* named Two in *Venice*, besides the great one, he should have told us where the other was.

The Five and Thirtieth and Six and Thirtieth Articles, are Remarks of so great Solidity, that I leave them to the Reader, who will see how weightily he contradicts the Doctor, particularly in the Six and Thirtieth.

The Doctor had told us, that an Eminent Man at *Venice* said to 37. Art. p. 86: him, That he did not think the *Greeks* believed *Transubstantiation*: but in opposition to this, the *Reflector* tells us, that he saw a Letter of *Olearius's*, which asserts, that they do believe it. But what is this to the Doctor? What he says may be very true, though *Olearius* was of another mind: Nor is *Olearius* of such Authority in matters of this nature, that his Opinion must determine the Point: but the Reason is considerable that the Doctor's Author gave him, which was the want of Respect in the *Greeks* to the Sacrament, since their not adoring it seemed a great Evidence that they could not believe



believe *Transubstantiation*. This Reason seems much more convincing than *Olearius's* Authority.

The Eighth and Thirtieth Article is left intire to the Reader, to judge of the *Reflector's* strength from it.

The Doctor, after he had  
39. Art. p. 89. mentioned that unequal match of one of the *Cornara's*, goes on to speak of the greatness and pride of that Family in general. But the *Reflector*, to give us a taste of his Sincerity, knits these Two together, as if the *Pride* of the *Cornara's* was by reason of the *mothers birth*, which plainly belongs to another matter. Besides that, the Doctor tells us, that *Cornara Piscopia* was none of the great Families of that Name.

The Doctor had shewed the  
40. Art. p. 90. Inconveniences of the Honour of the Doge of *Venice*, which were such, that *some of the greatest Families declined it*; and yet the Grandeur of it was such, that the *greatest part of the best Families courted it extremely*: Upon which the *Reflector* accuses him, as having contradicted himself: but it must be a degree of dullness or malice peculiar to him, that made him find a Contradiction between these Two Assertions, That the *greatest part courted it*, though *some declined it*.

The Doctor had said, That  
41. Art. p. 91. when a Duke is chosen, all his Family must retire out of the Senate:

Senate: But the *Reflector* lays a judicious Note on this, and says, This is only true, with relation to the Brothers and Children. So if the Doctor meant the word Family, in that which is its natural sense, then here is no difference at all: but if Family is to be taken in the larger sense, for the whole Tribe, even thus supposing that *Amelot* is to be believed against the Dr. it amounts to no more, but that the Doctor did not distinguish the sense of the word *Family* Critically.

The *Reflector*, without citing his Author for it, pretends, 42. Art. p. 93. that no *Doge's* can be Crowned, and that the Inquisitors made a Decree against it. But when this is acknowledged to be true, it does not contradict that which the Doctor had said; and only proves, that he did not know all the Constitutions of that Republic.

The Three and Fortieth Article is left to the contempt of the Reader; and in the Four and Fortieth the *Reflector* runs out into a commendation of the *German* Nation, in which I know no man that will contradict him. I am sure Dr. B. says nothing to the contrary, though all the World knows, that the general Character of the *German* Women, is, that they are good House-wives, and that they do not amuse themselves with a general Conversation, as the *French* and *English* Women do; for which the Doctor is so far from censuring them, that he commends them for it.

The Doctor had shewed upon 45. Art. p. 97. what Reasons he judged that the Secular Inquisitors of *Venice*, was a great advantage to that Body, against which the Reflector argues. But as the Doctor gave his opinion, so it is free for the Reflector to give his; and it is also free for the Reader to pass a judgment on both. The Reflector is resolved to let the world see in so short an Essay, that he is equally unhappy in all the Subjects which he undertakes.

Any Reader, unless he is as dull as 46. Art. p. 103. our Reflector, will clearly perceive the difference that the Doctor puts between the *Court of Inquisition*, and the *Secular Inquisitors of Venice*, but nothing is clear to one whose Talent is a composition made of dulness and malice.

The Seven and Fortieth, Eight and Fortieth, and Nine and Fortieth Articles, are left to the Readers judgment.

The Doctor had said, speaking 50. Art. p. 108. of *Ferrara*, that one might conclude it was extream poor, by the meanness of its Churches, and their want of Ornaments; and that one might take the measure of the Wealth of any place in *Italy* from the Churches. Upon this the Reflector finds a Contradiction between this and the Remark that the Doctor made on the poverty of *Millan*, notwithstanding the vast Riches that appear in the Churches:

But

But on the one hand, according to the Doctor's Observations, one may conclude where he sees poor Churches, that the Town is poor; yet it does not follow, that where the Churches are rich, the Town must be rich: On the contrary, it must be poor, in proportion to the excessive Wealth that is found in the Churches.

The Doctor had taken notice of the meanness of the Libraries of § 1. Art. p. 110, *Italy*, and yet the *Reflector* finds that he mentions Four good ones; and this he thinks a Contradiction. But it is plain, the Doctor is speaking of the Libraries in the Monasteries; and Three or Four is so small an Exception, that in such a number they deserved not to be named: And though the Doctor mentions several *Italians* with much respect, as men of Learning, yet that does not contradict what he says in general of the decay of Learning among them, though there are some Exceptions to be made; and even these owe the Reputation in which they are, perhaps to the Ignorance of those about them, at least in a great measure.

The Doctor mentions the Reflections that *Magliabecchi* made § 2. Art. p. 113: on the Library-Keeper of *St. Laurence's* at *Florence*, which puts the *Reflector* all in fire against the Doctor, as base, disingenuous, and ingrateful; whereas the Doctor says nothing of himself, but only repeats what another had told him.

The Three and Fiftieth Article is not meddled with, as a great many others are passed over, for a Reason that is not too much to the advantage of the *Reflector*, among whom the Four and Fiftieth Article is also to be reckoned.

If any has a mind to see how  
 55. Art. p. 121. well the *Reflector* understands Politics, he may be at the pains to read this Article; for I dare say no body will be at the pains to prove against him, that an Elective Prince ought not to be Absolute. And for his Learned performance, in proving, that the Popedom ought not to be Hereditary, I dare say, that he is the first man who ever thought it was a point that needed so much proof; for his Invention is so copious here, that he bestows six or seven Arguments making out that wise Aphorism of his.

He quarrels with the Doctor  
 56. Art. p. 125. for saying, That the Pope has an Insatiable Desire of heaping up Wealth; and thinks that the Doctor contradicts himself, since he owns, that he has not enriched his Family, and that he has sent great Sums to support the War against the *Turk*. But *Sixtus* the Fifth laid up a vast Treasure, though he gave none of it to his Family; and why may not the present Pope be of the same Temper? and his laying out money may well consist with his laying up of Wealth besides.

Upon the Doctor's naming the vacant Caps, the *Reflector* tells us 57. Art. p. 127. what all the *Gazets* told us long ago, how these are now disposed of: And after such a Confutation, who can suppose that the Doctor can ever shew his face any more?

The Doctor told us of a *Pasquin* that appeared upon *Moltos's* business, upon which the *Reflector* passes 58. Art. p. 128. this Censure, That he has found the same *Pasquin* in a Book Printed One Hundred and Forty Years ago. But does that shew, that it is impossible that the same *Pasquin* might have appeared again upon a New Occasion?

The Doctor had, from the freshness of the Painting that is in the 59. Art. p. 129. *Catacombs* of *Naples*, concluded, that the Paint could not have been done while the place was imployed for burying. But the *Reflector* cannot comprehend, why the Painting, which the Doctor believes may be Six Hundred Years Old, may not be much Ancienter. Yet if he knew any thing of the Remains of Antiquity, he would know, that though there are many Pieces of Painting of Six Hundred Years Old, there are none of the time of the Ancient *Romans*. But the chief Reason that the Doctor gives, that the Painting could not have been done while Bodies were buried there, is, That the Steams, occasioned by the Corruption of so many Bodies, must have dissolved both Plaister and Colours:

This



This seems convincing ; but our *Reflector* thought not fit to take notice of it. His Conjecture concerning the Letters which the Doctor saw on those Walls, shews how happy a Critick he is, and what great Discoveries may be expected from him, if he would be at the pains to write upon Old Inscriptions ; For a man that will make a Sentence that plainly ends in *Greek*, begin in *Latin*, is like to afford us many new Readings.

The Sixtieth and Sixty First Articles, are left to the Reader's Censure.

The Doctor's Inference from 62. Art.p. 134. Pope *Martin's* Confirming the Council of *Constance*, seems well grounded ; For if he was not Infallible, his Successors, to this day, are not ; and if he was, then from that Infallibility we must conclude, That the Confirmation, which condemns the Infallibility, is likewise an Infallible Decision : But our *Reflector*, after a little heavy Raillery, in which he is always unhappy, thinks to turn the matter thus, Either Pope *Martin* was Fallible or Infallible ; if Fallible, then the Decision is of no force ; if Infallible, then so were all his Predecessors. But though the Pope was Fallible, the Decision is strong against that See, and against his Successors, though it does not make the Decision Infallible, by Vertue of any Authority that he could give it. So that this makes clearly against the Pretensions of that See.

The Sixty Third Article is very material. The

Re-

*Reflector* tells us, that the person whom the Doctor calls the Pope's Steward, was his *Major Domo*. Now when he gives us a more proper *English* word for *Major Domo* than Steward, he may censure the Doctor as defective in our Tongue.

The Sixty Fourth Article pretends to find a Contradiction between the Doctor's calling the Pope's Government severe, and his commending the Regularity that is now at *Rome*, as if Vice could not be punished, and the Subjects be oppressed at the same time. P. 136.

The Sixty Fifth Article is left to the Reader, so is the Sixty Sixth; for they are Strains so well becoming our *Reflector*, that I confess I can say nothing to them.

The Sixty Seventh is pretended to be a Contradiction to what the Doctor had said of the Queen of *Sweden*, as having the best Court of Strangers in *Rome*; and yet he says of the Dutchess of *Bracciano*, that the best Assembly of Strangers that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the *Italians*, is in her Court. Now except the *Reflector* can prove, that the Queen of *Sweden* is an *Italian*, here is no Contradiction; for it is plain, that the Doctor means, that the Queen of *Sweden*'s Court is the best Assembly of Strangers that is in *Rome*; and that the Dutchess of *Bracciano*'s is the best of all the Assemblies that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the *Italians* in *Rome*.  
The

The Sixty Eighth, -Sixty Ninth, and Seventieth Articles, are again left to the Reader's Censure; only in the Seventieth Article an Error of the Press, *Places* being by all appcarance, instead of *Palaces*, seemed to give him some small Collour for fixing a little Censure, though even without that Correction, the sense will appear clear enough.

Our *Reflector* doubts if Cannon was brought before *Morat*; by which he shews how well he knows the History of Gunpowder and Cannon, since he does not think they were found out in the end of the Fifteenth Century.

The Seventy Second Article is a worthy one, I mean, worthy of the *Reflector*.

The *Reflector* laughs at the Doctor for telling the World, That the *Lutherans* pay no sort of Religious Respect to the Images that they have in their Churches, as if this was so well known, that it was needless to tell it. But though the Doctrine of the *Lutherans*, in that point, is well known, yet it was not impertinent to inform the World, that the people followed that point of their Doctrine, since we know, that in the Fifth Century, the Worship of Images was as much disowned as it can be by the *Lutherans*; and yet we see, that in *Gregory* the Great's time, the People in many places began to worship them.

The Doctor describing *Spire*, tells us, That one of the Prebendaries was, according to the *German* Custom, a man of greater Quality than Learning; Upon which the *Reflector* falls on him in great wrath as if he had reproached the *German* Nation for want of Learning; and with an equal measure of Ignorance and Impudence, he spends several Pages in refuting this Calumny. But the Do

nor left no Reproach on that Great Nation ; he reflects only on the Constitution of their Chapters in all the great Sees of Germany, in which, Birth is the most necessary and indispensable of all other Qualifications.

The Doctor is most solidly confuted in the Seventy Fifth Article.

The Doctor had said, That the Elector *Palatine* was as Absolute as any Prince of 76. Art. p. 155. the Empire ; Upon which the Reflector labours to prove that other Princes are as Absolute as he is ; but this does not contradict the Doctor, unless he proves, that some other Princes are more Absolute ; for that is all that the Doctor denies. Besides, many Princes of the Empire are bound to govern their Countries by the Assembly of the States, to which the Elector *Palatine* is not subject.

The Reflector does not believe that the Elector *Palatine* is designed in the 77. Art. p. 157. Publick Prayers *their Sovereign* ; since, besides other sad stuff, he says, there is no word in the German Language that imports that. But the French have a Church in *Heidelbergh*, where the Doctor might well have heard the Elector prayed for, and named *Their Sovereign*, which, as I am told, is the common Form there.

For the Seventy Eighth and Seventy Ninth Articles, that relate to the Golden Bull, they are the only Errors that I know in all the Doctor's Letters ; for it is certain, that the Original of the Golden Bull in *Latin*, is in *Frankfurt*. There is also a Great Parchment that contains a Translation of it into *Dutch* ; and that is commonly shewed to the German Travellers. But men who are more curious, may also see the Original. So it seems the Doctor's Guide in *Frankfurt*, knew not of any other Copy but that Great Parchment, which is in *High Dutch* : So that in this point the Dr. was not at pains enough to be rightly informed.

The Eightieth Article runs on the same mistake that appeared in the Seventy Sixth, where the Dr. had not said

said, that the Elector *Palatine* was more *Absolute*; but only as *Absolute* as any Prince in Germany: And so this is not contradicted by his saying, that the Elector of *Mentz* is an *Absolute* Prince.

The Eighty First Article is another strain of the Reflector's Malice. The Dr. found, having been in the Palaces of Four of the Electors, that there was much form, and a great deal of ado to come within their Courts. But in contradiction to this, the Reflector tells us of the Magnificence, and easie access that one finds in the Courts of *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh*: yet the Dr. notwithstanding this, might have made his Remark, though perhaps he had done better to have restricted it to these Courts which he saw.

And now we are come to the last, which 82. Art. p. 163. is no small comfort, when one is engaged to deal with so much weakness and folly.

The Reflector quarrels with the Dr. for telling us, that the Medals found at *Bon*, were believed to be made about four or five hundred years ago; and he cannot fancy how that could be known. But in this the Dr. affirms nothing himself; he only tells us what he had from others; and I do not see why this should offend the Reflector, unless he was beforehand resolved to take every thing amiss that should come from the Dr.

The Conclusion has nothing in it that is good, but that it is short. The Reflector makes an excuse for the flatness of his Book, which was no less than was needful, if he could have found a good one; but he comforts himself with this, That he had rather that Wit should be wanting to Truth, than Truth to Wit; but I can assure him, both are equally wanting here. And if he yeilds that there was Wit in the Doctor's Book, I am sure he has not brought any one Article against him, in which he has so much as pretended to shew any want of truth. So that it must be confessed, that since he yeilds the Doctor Wit, Truth belongs also to him in as eminent a degree as it is wanting to the Reflector.

**F I N I S.**

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